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Abstract of Thesis

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Title of thesis Monk Poetry as External Learning in the Middle and Late Tang exemplified by the poetry and lives of Guanxiu and Qiji

Degree PhD in the Department of the Languages and Cultures of China and Inner Asia

This thesis is concerned with monk *shi* 詩 poetry within the context of the political, intellectual and literary history focusing on the Middle and Late Tang. Buddhist monks engaged in non-Buddhist studies as external learning (*wàixue* 外學) to assist their interactions with non-Buddhists. *Shi* poetry was one of these non-Buddhist studies. This thesis introduces the rise of poet-monks from the Middle Tang period (from 785 onwards) as a literary and social phenomenon. One focus is to investigate why the Buddhist clergy tolerated the poet-monks' prolific unreligious poetry writing. The monastic code *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*) as well as the teachings of Southern Chan Buddhism are examined as Buddhist teachings relevant to the monks' *shi* poetry writing. It is argued that these teachings facilitated the monks' external learning, however, without directly inspiring the rise of poet-monks. The function of external learning is examined in the context of the clergy's position in the socio-political environment and their political relationship with Confucian scholar-officials. It is concluded that the rise of poet-monks was mainly inspired by the Buddhist monks' political desire to maintain a peaceful relationship with non-Buddhists. Furthermore, the poet-monks wrote poetry to advance their personal career prospect and as an artistic self-expression. The lives and poems of two poet-monks, Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912) and Qiji 齊己 (864-c. 943) are examined as a case study. It is demonstrated that their religious careers and the stylistic characteristics of their poetry were shaped by the function of external learning. Their poetry is analysed and compared to their contemporary literati poetry. It is concluded that, although the motivation for monks to write shi poetry may have been pragmatic, their distinct background allowed them to nevertheless make an independent contribution to the greater *shi* poetry tradition in its own right.

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Monk Poetry as External Learning in the Middle and Late Tang

exemplified by the poetry and lives of Guanxiu and Qiji

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The School of Oriental and African Studies
PhD in the Department of the Languages and Cultures of China and Inner Asia

Thesis Abstract

This thesis is concerned with monk *shi* 詩 poetry within the context of the political, intellectual and literary history focusing on the Middle and Late Tang. Buddhist monks engaged in non-Buddhist studies as external learning (*waixue* 外學) to assist their interactions with non-Buddhists. *Shi* poetry was one of these non-Buddhist studies. This thesis introduces the rise of poet-monks from the Middle Tang period (from 785 onwards) as a literary and social phenomenon. One focus is to investigate why the Buddhist clergy tolerated the poet-monks' prolific unreligious poetry writing. The monastic code *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*) as well as the teachings of Southern Chan Buddhism are examined as Buddhist teachings relevant to the monks' *shi* poetry writing. It is argued that these teachings facilitated the monks' external learning, however, without directly inspiring the rise of poet-monks. The function of external learning is examined in the context of the clergy's position in the socio-political environment and their political relationship with Confucian orientated scholar-officials. It is concluded that the rise of poet-monks was mainly inspired by the Buddhist monks' political desire to maintain a peaceful relationship with non-Buddhists. Furthermore, the poet-monks wrote poetry to advance their personal career prospect and as an artistic self-expression. The lives and poems of two poet-monks, Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912) and Qiji 齊己 (864-c. 943) are examined as a case study. It is demonstrated that their religious careers and the stylistic characteristics of their poetry were shaped by the function of external learning. Their poetry is analysed and compared to their contemporary literati poetry. It is concluded that, although the motivation for monks to write shi poetry may have been pragmatic, their distinct background allowed them to nevertheless make an independent contribution to the greater *shi* poetry tradition in its own right.

Dedication

To my Parents,
Mei-Ling,
And my personal Faith.

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources:

BJJ: *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 (Bai Juyi collection)

BLJ: *Bailian ji* 白蓮集 (White lotus collection)

CYJ: *Chanyue ji jiaozhu* 禪月集校注 (Chanyue collection with corrections and notations)

GSZ: *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of the eminent monks)

JDCDL: *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (The record of passing the lamp during the Jingde period)

JTS: *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang)

QTS: *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Complete Tang poetry)

SGSZ: *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song biographies of the eminent monks)

XGSZ: *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continuation of biographies of the eminent monks)

T: *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (New edition of the tripitaka in Chinese during the Taishō period)

TCZZ: *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 (Corrections and notations of Biographies of the Tang talents)

TRLSJZJP: *Tang ren lüshi jian zhu ji ping* 唐人律詩箋注集評 (A collected commentaries and notations of Tang regulated verse)

TRXTS: *Tang ren xuan Tang shi xin bian* 唐人選唐詩新編 (New edition of Tang poetic anthologies compiled in the Tang)

XQHWNBCS: *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Pre-Qin, the Han, the Wei, the Jin and the Northern and Southern dynasties poetry)

XTS: *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New history of the Tang)

ZHDD: *Zhonghua dadian wenxue dian Sui Tang Wudai wenxue fendian* 中華大典文學典隋唐五代文學分典 (Great Chinese works: literature of the Sui, Tang and Wudai periods)

Secondary Sources:

TCO: *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*

DSY: Jiang Yin 蔣寅, *Dali shiren yanjiu* 大歷詩人研究 (A study of Dali poets)

JN: *Jiaoran Nianpu* 皎然年譜 (A Chronology of Jiaoran's Life)

LT: *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827-860)*

ZFS: *Zhongguo fojiao sengtuan fazhan ji qi guanli yanjiu* 中國佛教僧團發展及其管理研究 (A study of the development of Chinese *saṅgha* and its management)

WTSQ: "*Wan Tang shiseng Qiji de shi chan shijie* 晚唐詩僧齊己的詩禪世界 (Late Tang poet-monk Qiji's view to poetry writing and meditation)"

ZCS: *Zhongguo chanzong yu shige* 中國禪宗與詩歌 (Chinese Chan Buddhism and poetry)

Monk Poetry as External Learning in the Middle and Late Tang
exemplified by the poetry and lives of Guanxiu and Qiji

Chapter One: Introduction

Buddhist monks started writing poetry from the fourth century onwards, and monk poetry constituted two major forms of poetry: *ji* 偈 verse and *shi* 詩 poetry. *Shi* poetry was the poetic forms—*yuefu* 樂府 (music bureau poetry), *gushi* 古詩 (ancient-style poetry) and *lüshi* 律詩 (regulated verse)—derived from the Chinese literary traditions and commonly practiced among the literati. *Shi* poetry was defined by its intrinsic rules. Each form of *shi* poetry had clear rules of rhyming patterns and, in the case of *lüshi*, pairings of words in the couplets. Except for *yuefu*, *gushi* and *lüshi* were mostly composed with lines of equal length of syllables—four, five, six or seven characters. Monk *shi* poetry was regulated by the intrinsic rules of *shi* forms, and its content was not required to be religious.

The formal definition of *ji* verse, however, was much looser than *shi* poetry. *Ji* verse had its origin in the verse in the Buddhist sutras. There were two major forms of verse in the Buddhist sutras: *cūrnika* (*changheng* 長行) and *gāthā* (*ji* 偈 or *song* 頌). *Cūrnika* was a long rhymed prosy verse, usually accounting a story; *gāthā* was short stanza of a few lines. *Cūrnika* and *gāthā* were both rhymed in the original Indian language. However, when the Buddhist sutras were translated into Chinese, the translators adapted the verse in the sutras into lines of equal length of syllables—four, or five, or six, or seven characters—so as to mark its genre as poetry to Chinese reader.[1] On the appearance the Chinese translation of Buddhist verse resembled *shi*

[1] Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, *Zhongguo chan zong yu shige* 中國禪宗與詩歌 (Chinese Chan Buddhism and poetry) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1992), 27. This title is referred to as *Zhou* afterwards.

poems, but it had no rhyming restriction. From the Eastern Jin (317-420) the Buddhist monks started writing *ji* verse as a creative composition.[2] The monks followed the style of the translated *gāthā* to compose new *ji* verse, that is, *ji* verse was composed with lines of equal length of syllables but was not bound to any rhyming rule. In other words, *ji* verse might rhyme like *shi* poems,[3] or rhyme randomly, or not rhyme at all.[4] There was no specific stylistic requirement for *ji* verse, either.

There was no absolute intrinsic rule to define *ji* verse, but there were some major characteristics to distinguish *ji* verse. However, these characteristics were not fixed, and the recognition of a poem as *ji* verse largely depended on the extrinsic context.

Firstly, the easiest way to distinguish *ji* verse was title. *Ji* verse usually had *ji* 偈, or *song* 頌, or *zan* 贊 in the title. However, *ji* verse did not always have a title, for example, Hanshan 寒山 (d. u.) and Shide's 拾得 (d. u.) poems in *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Complete Tang poetry).[5] What determined Hanshan and Shide's untitled poems as *ji* verse was that Hanshan and Shide were generally perceived as Buddhist monks, and their poems also often had a strong Buddhist message.[6]

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[2] Tan Zhaowen 覃召文, *Chan yue shi hun* 禪月詩魂 (Chan moon and poetry spirit) (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1994), 5.

[3] See the *ji* verse of Kumārajīva (*Jiumoluoshi* 鳩摩羅什) as an example, pp.11-12.

[4] See the *ji* verse of Lingyun Zhiqin 靈雲志勤 (*fl.c.* 860-898) as an example, p. 11.

[5] Peng Dingqiu 彭定求, ed., *Quan Tang Shi* 全唐詩 (Complete Tang poetry) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1960). This title is henceforth referred to as *QTS*.

[6] The identity of Hanshan remains a mystery, but he was generally perceived as a Buddhist monk in the Song already. Shide was usually recognised as Hanshan's companion and a Buddhist monk, too. T. H. Barrett, "Introduction," in *Poems of Hanshan*, trans. Peter Hobson, 122-31 (Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, and Oxford: Altamira Press, 2003).

Secondly, the content of *ji* verse usually carried an explicit Buddhist or moral message. However, not all *ji* verse had an explicit Buddhist message, for example, the Chan monk Lingyun Zhiqin 靈雲志勤 (*fl.c.* 860-898) was enlightened when seeing the peach blossoms, and he recited a *ji* verse to mark this spiritual occasion:[7]

Throughout the thirty years I had been looking for a swordsman;	三十來年尋劍客，
How many times I came across the fallen leaves,	幾逢落葉幾抽枝！
and how many times the leaves grew on the branches !	
After I saw the peach blossoms,	自從一見桃華後，
Up to now I still have no doubt.	直至如今更不疑。

There is no explicit mention of enlightenment in this *ji* verse, and the content was about one's long search for a swordsman. Taken this poem out of the context of spiritual experience, there was no religious message on its own. Its Buddhist relevance emanated from the context of Lingyun Zhiqin's spiritual experience.

Thirdly, most of *ji* verse had a religious relevance. However, some *ji* verse did not have a direct religious relevance, but they were included in the Buddhist literature. Below is a *ji* verse of the Indian Buddhist master Kumārajīva (*Jiumoluoshi* 鳩摩羅什) (334-413). This poem was written to a monk called Fahe 法和 (*fl.c.* 350-394) and recorded in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of the eminent monks):[8]

The mind and the mountains nurture the great virtues,	心山育明德，
That spread long and wide.	流薰萬由延。

[7] Daoyuan 道原, *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (The record of passing the lamp during the Jingde period), in *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (New edition of the tripitaka in Chinese during the Taishō period), ed. *Ono Genmyo* 小野玄妙 51: 285a (Tokyo: Nihon Tokyo Daizōkyō Kankōkai, 1990). The tripitaka is henceforth referred to as *T*. *Jingde chuandeng lu* is henceforth referred to as *JDCDL*.

[8] Huijiao 慧皎, *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of the eminent monks) in *T*, 50: 332b. *Gaoseng zhuan* is henceforth referred to as *GSZ*. *GSZ* records this poem to be a *song* 頌 (*ji* verse).

The sad phoenix on the solitary dryandra tree, 哀鸞孤桐上，
Her clear voice is heard over the highest place of the sky. 清音徹九天。

This verse proclaims that the monk Fahe's great virtues would be known widely. It follows the formal requirements of *gushi* and used a Chinese allusion. Kumārajīva employed the Chinese allusion of a phoenix perching on the dryandra tree, meaning that the country was well ruled, to reinforce the power of the spreading virtues.[9] There was no definite religious or moral message other than Kumārajīva's praise to Fahe's high morale, and obviously this verse was written for a social purpose, not for spreading the Buddhist teachings. The Buddhist relevance of this poem is emanated from Kumārajīva's religious background and its inclusion in the Buddhist work *Gaoseng zhuan*.

Fourthly, most of *ji* verse was written by Buddhist monks or nuns. However, there were a few lay Buddhists also writing *ji* verse too. Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), for example, was a devoted Buddhist, and he also wrote a *ji* verse to explicate the Buddhist teachings.[10] Based on the discussion of *ji* verse above, one can conclude that *ji* verse presumed a strong connection to Buddhism, but its religious relevance did not always exhibited in its text and depended on the extrinsic context to provide it.

The concept of religious *ji* verse versus religion-artitrary monk *shi* poetry was

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[9] C.A.S. Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs: A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art through the Ages* (Boston, Rutland, Vermont, Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2004), 324. However, it is odd that the phoenix should be described as *ai* 哀 (sad) during a well ruled time. A possible interpretation is that, in spite of his great virtue, monk Fahe was not well acknowledged by the government, and therefore the phoenix is sad about this mistreatment.

[10] *JDCDL*, 285a. See Bai Juyi's *ji* verse in Bai Juyi 白居易, *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 (Bai Juyi collection) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 4: 1502-3. *Bai Juyi ji* is henceforth referred to as *BJJ*.

defined with a cultural contrast. For instance, the author of *GSZ* Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) defined *shi* poetry as Chinese culture learning in contrast to *ji* verse as religious works in *GSZ*. He wrote, "The lore of the eastern country [China] is a composition of the emotional expressions; the song of the West is to compose *ji* verse and match it with music[11]...Therefore the sutras say to use the subtle music and song to praise the virtues of the Buddha." [東國之歌也，則結詠以成詠；西方之贊也，則作偈以和聲。.....故經言，以微妙音歌歎佛德。][12] Huijiao explained that *shi* poetry developed from the Chinese culture and was composed to express one's emotion. Huijiao traced the origin of *ji* verse in Buddhist sutras, and *ji* verse was written to praise the virtues of Buddha. In other words, *ji* verse was religious work, but *shi* poetry in general should follow its Chinese tradition. Monk *shi* poetry therefore was not required to be religion relevant.

The difficulty to define the intrinsic qualities of *ji* verse is obvious. To make the issue more complicated, there was a growing tendency to adopt *shi* rhyming patterns in *ji* verse from the Middle Tang onwards, and the language of *ji* verse also turned to be more sophisticated like *shi* poetry.[13] Because of the convergence of forms and

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[11] Monk Sengrui 僧叡 (*fl.c.* 400-413) was Kumārajīva's disciple and assisted Kumārajīva to translate the Buddhist sutras into Chinese. He recorded how Kumārajīva explicated the cultural customs of composing *ji* verse in India, "Kumārajīva often talked about the rhetoric and forms in the western language and compared the similarities and differences of those [in Chinese]. It is said that the Indian customs emphasised on the literary composition very much. It is good that the musical metre and rhymes of verse can fit in the string music. There would be praise of virtues whenever one is to have the king's audience. As for the customs of paying a visit to the Buddha statue, singing verse would be great. *Ji* verse in the Buddhist sutras all follows the customs." [什每爲叡論西方辭體商略同異，云，天竺國俗甚重文製，其宮商體韻以入絃爲善。凡覲國王，必有贊德。見佛之儀，以歌歎爲貴。經中偈頌皆其式也。] *GSZ*, 332b.

[12] *T*, 50: 414c.

[13] *Zhou*, 28-30.

expressions, *shi* poetry and *ji* verse were sometimes hard to distinguish from each other. The literature review in this chapter will reveal some studies of monk poetry do not separate *shi* poetry from *ji* verse. However, *shi* poetry derived from Chinese tradition and had its cultural purposes; *ji* verse developed from the Buddhist tradition and was bound to religion. The Buddhist monks were aware of the different sources to the two poetries. They distinguished the study of *shi* poetry belonging to the non-Buddhist studies as *waixue* 外學 (external learning) in contrast to *ji* verse innate of the Buddhist studies as *naixue* 內學 (internal learning). Nevertheless, as the discussion in the thesis will reveal, monk *shi* poetry was not entirely out of religious context.

1.1. The Rise of Poet-Monks from the Middle Tang

During the second half of the eighth century, the Tang society witnessed an increasing number of poet-monks (*shiseng* 詩僧)[14] devoted to *shi* poetry. These so-called poet-monks were mainly known for their *shi* poems and their seriousness about poetic art.[15] The modern scholar Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇 in his *Zhongguo Chan zong Yu Shige* 中國禪宗與詩歌 (Chinese Chan Buddhism and poetry) observes that there was an increasing number of poet-monks from the Dali 大歷 period (766-779) of the

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[14] The term *shiseng* 詩僧 (poet-monk) appeared approximately during the Middle Tang period; the earliest appearance of this term can be traced to the poem *Chou bie Xiangyang shiseng Shaowei* 酬別襄陽詩僧少微 (A parting poem to poet-monk Shaowei from Xiangyang) written by Jiaoran 皎然 (c.720- c.798) in the year 775. Japanese scholar Ichihara Ryoukichi 市原享吉 published this find in Ichihara Ryoukichi 市原享吉, "Chūtō shoki kōsa teki shisō 中唐初期江左的詩僧 (The poet-monks at the left side of lower Yangtze river during early Middle Tang)," *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 28 (1958), 219. Cf. Jia Jinhua dates this poem in the year 775 in Jia Jinhua 賈晉華, *Jiaoran nianpu* 皎然年譜 (A chronology of Jiaoran's life) (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 1992), 82-3. Jia Jinhua's title is henceforth henceforth referred to as *JN*.

[15] The term "poet-monk" in this thesis applies to all Buddhist monks who wrote poetry in general, either *shi* poetry or *ji* verse.

Middle Tang period:[16]

> Although there were Buddhist monks writing poetry before the Tang, but there were only a few. During the roughly three hundred years between the Eastern Jin and the Sui, there were only about thirty or so poet-monks, and they did not have many works. However, according *Quan Tang shi* there were more than a hundred poet-monks. They had forty-six *juan* of poetry. Most of the poet-monks and monk *shi* poetry were concentrated in a hundred and some years after the Dali period.
> 唐以前雖也有僧人寫詩，但人數很少，東晉至隋近三百年間，僅有詩僧三十餘人。而且作品寥寥。而據《全唐詩》記載，唐詩僧共百餘人，詩作有四十六卷，而且絕大部分詩僧和僧詩都集中在大歷以後的百多年間。[17]

Zhou Yukai's observation is based on the record of *QTS* and generally acknowledged in the modern studies of monk poetry.

Monk *shi* poetry in comparison to literati *shi* poetry (*wenren shi* 文人詩) was not the representative mainstream poetry. Its preservation is therefore likely to be poorer than literati poetry. For instance, prior to the Tang dynasty (618-907), the poetry anthology *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Pre-Qin, the Han, the Wei, the Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties Poetry)[18] record forty-two poet-monks across a period of about three hundred years. For example, the Buddhist master Daoan 道安 (312-385) was known to be good at literary writing, and at the height of his influence all the sons of the great clans in Chang'an came to study

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[16] I follow the general separation of the Tang literary periods: Early Tang (7th century), High Tang (700-785), Middle Tang (785-835) and Late Tang (after 835). Wilt Idema, and Lloyd Haft, *A Guide to Chinese Literature*, (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1997), 125.

[17] *ZCS*, 39.

[18] Lu Qinli 逯欽立, ed. *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Pre-Qin, the Han, the Wei, the Jin and the Northern and Southern dynasties poetry) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) This work collects *shi* poetry before the Tang period, excluding the poems in *Shi jing* 詩經 (*Classic of Poetry*) and *Chu ci* 楚辭 (*Chu verse*). This edited title is henceforth referred to as *XQHWNBCS*.

literary writing with him.[19] However, there are only a few lines of Daoan's work recorded in *XQHWNBCS*. Daoan's disciple Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) was also renowned for his literary writing. His disciples compiled more than fifty literary works including poetry into a ten *juan* 卷 (chapter) collection.[20] However, there is only one poem of Huiyuan recorded in *XQHWNBCS*.[21] The preservation of Middle Tang monk *shi* poetry is not ideal, either. The Song scholar Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077-1148) mentioned the poor preservation of Middle Tang monk *shi* poetry, "The names of the poet-monks from the Middle Tang onwards were widely known. Many of their contemporaries praised their poems, but their poems did not pass down." [唐詩僧中葉以後，其名字班班，爲時所稱者甚多，然詩皆不傳。][22] However, Ye Mengde was not entirely right. Tang monk *shi* poetry did pass down to the Song period. *Song shi* 宋史 (History of the Song) records about thirty Tang and Wudai poet-monks and their works circulating during the Song period,[23] but many other monk poems were already lost by the time when *Song shi* was compiled in the fourteenth century. The Middle Tang monk Lingche 靈澈 (745-816), for instance, had ten *juan* of his poems recorded in *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New history of the Tang),[24] but only one *juan* of his works was left in *Song shi*.[25] In spite of the generally poor preservation of monk *shi*

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[19] *T*, 50: 352a.

[20] *GSZ*, 361b.

[21] *XQHWNBCS*, 2:1085.

[22] Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之, ed. *Shiren yuxie* 詩人玉屑 (A Poet's Jade Crumbles) (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 2005), 443.

[23] Feng Guodong 馮國棟, "*Songshi yiwenzhi shishi bieji zongji kao* 《宋史・藝文志》釋氏別集、總集考 (A textual study of individual and anthological collections of Buddhist monks in the literature treaties of History of the Song)," *Chung-Hwa fojiao yanjiu* 中華佛學研究 (Chung-Hwa Buddhist Studies), no. 10 (2006): 175-98.

[24] Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, and Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New history of the Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 5:1615. This title is referred as *XTS* afterwards.

[25] Tuotuo 脫脫, *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 16: 5387.

poetry, if we believe that *QTS* indicates an inaccurate but nevertheless rough quantitative overview of the poet-monks, the number of the poet-monks did increase towards the Late Tang and Wudai periods. Table 1.1 below shows the number of the poet-monks recoded in *QTS* in three sections of the 342 years of the Tang and Wudai periods.

Table 1.1. The Number of the Poet-Monks during the Tang and Wudai Periods

Time	From the 7th-mid 8th century	From the mid 8th-mid 9th century	From the mid 9th-mid 10th century
Period Division	Roughly the Early and High Tang periods	Roughly the Middle Tang period	Roughly the Late Tang and Wudai periods
Duration	150 years	100 years	100 years
Number of Poet-Monks in *QTS*	20	15	79

The number of the poet-monks surged most significantly during the Late Tang and Wudai periods. However, Ye Mengde's comment reminds us that many poet-monks were already prolific in writing poetry from the Middle Tang.

The Middle Tang poet-monks' seriousness about poetry was also asserted in the Middle Tang literati's works. Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842) wrote a remark (*ji* 紀) for *Che Shangren wenji* 澈上人文集 (Lingche's literary collection) and described that a group of poet-monks—Lingyi 靈一(726-762), 護國 (*fl.c.* 743-774),[26] Qingjiang 清江 (c. 811),[27] Fazhen 法振 (*fl.c.* 766-804),[28] Jiaoran 皎然 (c.720-798) and Lingche—

[26] Huguo wrote the poem *Zeng Zhang fuma banzhu zhuzhang* 贈張駙馬斑竹柱杖 (Presenting Commandant-escort Zhang with a marked-bamboo staff) to Zhang Wei 張謂 (*fl.c.* 743-774). Therefore Huguo was proximately active during the same time. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, ed., *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 (Corrections and notations of Biographies of the Tang talents) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 2: 534-5. This title is referred as *TCZZ* afterwards.

[27] Qingjiang already enjoyed poetic fame during the early Dali period (766-779). *TZCC*, 2:537-40.

already enjoyed poetic fame during his time.[29] (See an analysis of this work on pp. 33-4.) Liu Yuxi's observation was not a coincidental observation. His contemporary scholar Bai Juyi also mentioned the same poet-monks rising to poetic fame in the preface of his poem *Ti Daozong shangren shi yun* 題道宗上人十韻 (Writing ten rhymes to monk Daozong).[30] (See an analysis of the preface and the poem on pp. 22-5.) Based on Zhou Yukai's observation on the records in *QTS* and the Tang literati's comments on the Middle Tang poet-monks it is therefore reasonable to conclude that the number of the poet-monks serious about poetic art increased from the Middle Tang.

The Buddhist monks devoted their lives to spiritual cultivation and lived a communal life regulated by the monastic codes.[31] Their poetry writing was therefore guided by the monastic codes. According to Huijiao there were at least eighteen monastic codes deriving from five major schools of Buddhism.[32] The monasteries usually followed one major monastic code and consulted other monastic codes.[33] The monastic code *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*) allows the monks to study non-Buddhist studies (external learning) to defend and promote Buddhism. *Shi* poetry derived from Chinese culture, and the monks' *shi* poetry writing should follow the

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[28] Fazhen and Qingjiang lived in the roughly same period. Fazhen also enjoyed poetic fame during the early Dali period. *TCZZ*, 2: 546.

[29] "*Che shangren wenji ji* 澈上人文集紀 (Remark on Lingche's literary work collection)" in Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫, *Liu Yuxi ji jianzheng* 劉禹錫集箋證 (Notation and textual studies of Liu Yuxi's work collection) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 1: 519-20.

[30] *BJJ*, 2: 470.

[31] See a discussion on the life and organisation of a Buddhist monastery in Charles S. Prebish, and Damien Keown, *Introducing Buddhism* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 60-70.

[32] *GSZ*, 403ab.

[33] See the example of monk Xuanyan 玄晏 (743-800), who mainly observed *Sifen lü* but also consulted other monastic codes, p. 55. More relevant discussion on the major monastic codes, pp. 52-5.

teachings of external learning. Below is a quoted passage from *Shisong lü*:

> Buddha was in the kingdom Śrāvastī. There were monks abandoning Sūtra and Abhidharma and failed to observe the monastic codes. They recited the books, literary works and military strategies of other teachings and left the Buddhist sutras behind. Buddha said, "From now on, it will be a sin if anyone learns to recite the books, literary works and military strategies of other teachings." Before Buddha established this rule, the senior Śāriputra and Mahamaugalyāyana sat on the high seat and lectured the new monks and male novices about the Dharma and taught them how to study and recite the books of other teachings so as to defeat the attacks of other teachings. After Buddha established the rule, the seniors Śāriputra and Mahamaugalyāyana then did not sit on the high seat and lectured the Dharma and taught other teachings to the new monks and male novices. At the time people of other teachings...arrived [at the lodging place of the monks] and debated with the new monks and male novices. The new monks and male novices could not answer their questions. This was because firstly they just started learning the teachings of Buddha, and secondly they did not study other teachings due to the rule. At the time people of other teachings laughed at the lay Buddhists and said, "Your great masters, the ones you provide, the ones you respect, the ones who sit up there and eat first are just like this." The lay Buddhists heard this and were worried and unhappy. They told Buddha about this. Buddha said, from now on you study books of other teachings so as to defeat the attacks of other teachings.
>
> 佛在舍衛國，有比丘捨修多羅、阿毘曇，捨毘尼，誦外書文章兵法，遠離佛經。佛言，從今諸比丘，若有學誦外書文章兵法者，突吉羅。佛未制是戒時，長老舍利弗目連處高座上，爲諸新比丘沙彌說法，教學誦外書，爲破外道論故。制是戒已，長老舍利弗目連，便不處高座爲新比丘沙彌說法教學外書。爾時諸外道……到已，與新比丘沙彌共論議，諸新比丘沙彌皆不能答。以二事故，一者新入道，二者佛制不聽學故。時諸外道輕弄諸優婆塞言。汝之大師，汝所供養。汝所尊重，上坐先食者。正如是耶。諸優婆塞聞是事心愁不樂，以是事白佛。佛言，從今聽爲破外道故誦讀外道書。[34]

According to the quoted passage, Buddhists should prioritise the learning of Buddhist teachings and the observance of monastic codes. However, they could study external learning so as to show non-Buddhists that their submission to Buddhism was out of knowledge instead of ignorance of other teachings. External learning therefore was to defend Buddhism and, by defeating the attacks from non-Buddhists, promote

[34] *T*, 23: 274a.

Buddhism among different teachings. The monks' *shi* poetry writing therefore should be for a religious purpose.

However, not all monastic codes allow the monks to write poetry. For example, the monastic code *Genben shuoyiqieyou bu binaiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (*Mūla-sarvātivāda-vinaya-kśdraka-vastu*) forbids the monks to write poetry:

> Buddha says the monks should not go and show up in the places of song and dance. If the monks sing and dance and recite poetry, or teach people to do so, or collect the compositions themselves, or show up again in such occasion, these doings all violate the code.[35]
> 佛言芯芻不應往彼歌舞之處故現其身，若芯芻身作歌舞及以諷詠，或復教人或自收攝或復現身，皆越法罪。

From the quoted passage, the Buddhist monks should not write poetry. This monastic code was translated into Chinese by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) and should have influenced the monks after its translation.[36] However, the rise of poet-monks from the mid eighth century already made it clear that the prohibition of poetry writing in *Genben shuoyiqieyou bu binaiye zashi* was not observed. The discrepancy between the theoretical virtues in *Genben shuoyiqieyou bu binaiye zashi* and the reality illuminates a gap between two cultural understandings of poetry writing. *Genben shuoyiqieyou bu binaiye zashi*, on one hand, treats poetry as an entertainment like singing or dancing in the Indian culture, and Buddhist monks were therefore discouraged to write poetry. Poetry in the Chinese culture, on the other hand, served a purpose larger than mere entertainment. On the cultural level, *shi* poetry as a core

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[35] Peng Yaling 彭雅玲, "*Tang dai shiseng de chuangzuo lun yanjiu—shige yu fojiao de zonghe fenxi* 唐代詩僧的創作論研究--詩歌與佛教的綜合分析 (A study of the motivation of the Tang monk poets' composition--an combined analysis of religion and Buddhism)" (PhD thesis, National Chengchi University, 1999), 39-40. *T*, 24: 221ab.

[36] *T*, 24: 207a. The translator is stated at the beginning of the sutra.

literary composition was believed to mirror the management of socio-politics.[37] On the individual level, *shi* poetry was believed to manifest the writer's virtues and capacities. It was an ingrained component in the education of the secular scholars, and the skill in *shi* poetry writing was sanctioned in the examination to recruit the government officials.[38] The two culture viewpoints to poetry shaped the interpretation of monk *shi* poetry into two divergent ways. The literature review in the next section explicates two readings of monk *shi* poetry and the poet-monks' motivations to write *shi* poetry.

1.2. Literature Review: A Construction of Two Conventional Readings

Historical and modern receptions of monk *shi* poetry from the Middle Tang have diverged into two conventional readings. One reading based on the social convention separates Buddhist monks from the secular literati. Bai Juyi, for example, viewed the religious responsibilities as the prime priority of the monks, and they should write poetry for religion instead of for art. The other reading based on the literary convention, Liu Yuxi's view for instance, separates *ji* verse from monk *shi* poetry and focuses more on the artistic quality of monk *shi* poetry.

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[37] See Pauline Yu, and Theodore Huters, "The Imaginative Universe of Chinese Literature," in *Chinese Aesthetics and Literature: a reader*, ed. Corinne H. Dale, 1-13 (Albany: State University of New York, 2004); Wilt Idema, and Lloyd Haft, "The Central Tradition in Traditional Society," in *Chinese Aesthetics and Literature*, ed. Corinne H. Dale, 41-54 (New York: State University of New York, 2004).

[38] See David Mcmullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 206-11; 229-34; 244-49.

1.2.1. Reading one: monk poetry to promote Buddhism

During the Middle Tang several poet-monks were famous for their *shi* poetry, and their poetic fame allured an interpretation of their motivation to write *shi* poetry. According to the teachings of external learning, monk poetry in general should be written for a religious purpose. However, the Middle Tang poet-monks seriously cultivated poetic art, but their *shi* poems generally lacked an explicit Buddhist message in content. Bai Juyi wrote in the preface of his poem *Ti Daozong shangren shi yun* and attacked the poet-monks' seriousness about poetic art:

> In the Dharma hall of monk Daozong, an eminent monk specialised in *vinaya*[39] of the Puji temple, there are poems of late Counsellor-in-Chief the Minister of Education Zheng,[40] Imperial Secretary Gui,[41] Minister of Justice Lu,[42] Vice Supervisor of the Household Yuan[43] and today's Grand Councillor Zheng of the Ministry of Personnel,[44] Grand Councillor Wei of the Secretariat[45] and Assistant Director of the Left Qian.[46] Reading their titles, they all exchanged poetry with the monk. Examining the people, they are all the virtuous in the

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[39] *Vinaya* (*lüxue* 律學) is the study of the monastic codes.

[40] The late Counsellor-in-Chief the Minister of Education Zheng was Zheng Yuqing 鄭餘慶 (746-820). See his biography in Liu Xu 劉昫, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang), 13: 4163-7. This title is referred as *JTS* afterwards. *XTS*, 16: 5059-61.

[41] Imperial Secretary Gui could be either Gui Chongjing 歸崇敬 (712-799) or his son Gui Deng 歸登 (754-820). See their biographies in *JTS*, 12: 4014-20; *XTS*, 16: 5035-39.

[42] Yuan Chongjian 元崇簡 (d. 822). See an outline of Yuan Chongjian's life in Bai Juyi's work *Gu Jingzhao Yuan shaoyin wenji xu* 故京兆元少尹文集序 (Preface of the collection of late Metroplitan Junior Governor Yuan's literary works) in *Bai*, 4: 1424-6.

[43] Minister of Justice Lu was possibly Lu Jingchu 陸景初 (665-735). His biography can be found in *JTS*, 9: 2876-7; *XTS*, 14: 4236-7.

[44] Grand Councillor Zheng of the Ministry of Personnel was possibly Zhen Han 鄭澣 (776-839), the son of Zheng Yuqing. See his biography in *JTS*, 13: 4167-8; *XTS*, 16: 5061-2.

[45] Grand Councillor Wei of the Secretariat was possibly Wei Chuhou 韋處厚 (773-828); he was promoted to be 中書侍郎 in 826, and this was his final posting. Wei Chuhou believed in Buddhism and particularly devoted to its teachings during his late years. See his biography in *JTS*, 13: 4182-7; *XTS*, 15: 4674-6.

[46] Qian Hui 錢徽 (755-829). His biography can be found in *JTS*: 13: 4382-6; *XTS*, 17: 5271-3.

court. Investigating the contents, they are all words of uprightness. I then know the words of the monk are written for uprightness, for Dharma, for the wisdom of using skillful means to save others, for deliverance of Buddha nature, and not for the sake of poetry. Those who know the monk would say so. I am afraid that those who do not know the monk would think him as one of those people such as Huguo, Fazhen, Lingyi, Jiaoran！ I therefore write twenty lines to explain for Daozong.

普濟寺律大德宗上人法堂中，有故相國鄭司徒、歸尚書、陸刑部、元少尹及今吏部鄭相、中書韋相、錢左丞詩。覽其題，皆與上人唱酬。閱其人，皆朝賢。省其文，皆義語。予始知上人之文，爲義作，爲法作，爲方便智作，爲解脫性作，不爲詩而作也。知上人者云爾。恐不知上人者，謂爲護國、法振、靈一、皎然之徒與。故予題二十句以解之。[47]

In the preface Bai Juyi pointed out that monk Daozong exchanged poetry with several high posted officials. From the officials' poems to Daozong Bai Juyi concluded that Daozong, unlike other famous poet-monks, wrote poetry for religion. It was possible that Daozong exchanged poetry with the scholar-officials to proselytise, but it was also possible that the scholar-officials were interested in Buddhism and came to Daozong for religious advice. Bai Juyi did not clarify the exact purpose of the contact between Daozong and the officials. What was important to Bai Juyi was that monks should write poetry for religion and disapproved of the poet-monks composing poetry for art. Bai Juyi explicated his notion of monk *shi* poetry further in the poem *Ti Daozong shangren shi yun*:

Buddha lectured with verse and hymn;	如來說偈贊，[48]
Bodhisattvas wrote treatises.	菩薩著論議。
Therefore the disciplinary master Daozong	是故宗律師，
Writes poetry for religion.	以詩爲佛事。
One phoneme has no [meaningful] differentiation;	一音[49]無差別，
Four lines form layers of meaning.	四句有詮次。

[47] *BJJ*, 2: 470.

[48] *Zan* 贊 (to assist) here is a variation character of *zan* 讚 (praise/hymn).

[49] Chinese characters are mono-phonemic, so one *yin* 音 (sound/phoneme) is one character (a word usually).

You mean to let the first-class people[50]	欲使第一流，
All understand the meaning of non-duality.[51]	皆知不二義。
The essence and purity touches the embodiment of the codes;[52]	精潔沾戒體，
The leisure and blend [life] hides the flavour of Chan.	閑淡藏禪味。
You indulge language with ease;	從容恣語言，
Ethereally [the meaning] transcends above the written words.	縹緲離文字。
You invite the elites from the different regions of the country;	旁延邦國彥，
You reach up to the princes, dukes and nobilities.	上達王公貴。
You attract them with verse first;	先以詩句牽，
Afterwards you guide them into the wisdom of Buddha.	後令入佛智。
People like your verse best;	人多愛師句，
I alone know your intention.	我獨知師意。
You are not like the monk Huixiu,	不似休上人，
Who had much thought of clouds in the blue sky.[53]	空多碧雲思。

There are two significant points in Bai Juyi's reading of Daozong's poetry. Firstly, in this poem Bai Juyi traced the Buddhist writing tradition back to Buddha, who added verse and hymn in his teaching, and the Bodhisattvas, who wrote treatises to explain and elaborate the teachings of Buddha. Bai Juyi did not differentiate the writing of treatises from verse; he considered these writings, regardless of literary genres, were all for the purpose to teach and spread the Buddhist teachings.

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[50] In the scripture Bai Juyi mentioned that Daozong associated with several high officials who were the elites of the society.

[51] Non-duality is one of the characteristics of *zhenru* 真如 (Bhūtatathatā; Buddha nature), the reality unchanging or immutable. *Zhenru*, or Buddha nature, is in contrast to the changing form and phenomena in the world. Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 99.

[52] *Jie ti* 戒體 (the embodiment of the monastic codes) means the Buddhist monks. The Buddhist monks all have to observe the monastic codes, and therefore the Buddhist monks are the embodiments of the monastic codes. Daozong specialised in the *vinaya* studies, and Bai Juyi emphasized on Daozong's religious speciality.

[53] See the account of Huixiu 惠休 (*fl.c.* 453-464) in the footnote 59. *Biyun* 碧雲 (Clouds in the blue sky) was his representative poem, but unfortunately this poem is lost.

The second point is an irony in the poem. Although Bai Juyi argued that Daozong wrote poetry for religion, Daozong's poetry might be quite rhetorically embellished and not be particularly religious in content. Bai Juyi described that Daozong clearly "indulged language" in his poems, and the meaning of his poem transcended above the crafted words in the poem, which means that the assumed religious message might be suggested by the artistic expressions but not plainly conveyed. Furthermore, the artistic expressions actually distracts the reader from the true message of Daozong's poetry, because "people like your [Daozong's] verse best; I alone know your [Daozong's] intention." [人多愛師句，我獨知師意。] Daozong's poetry might be more artistic than Bai Juyi was willing to admit, for the other poet-monks' interest in poetic craftsmanship was what precisely Bai Juyi attacked and defended Daozong's poetry from. Therefore, Bai Juyi emphasised that he knew Daozong' true intention in poetry writing and excused the embellished language in Daozong's poetry as a tool to attract the reader to Buddhism. (See the couplet "You [Daozong] attract them [the readers] with verse first; afterwards you guide them into the wisdom of Buddha." [先以詩句牽，後令入佛智。]) In Bai Juyi's reading, the artistic expressions in Daozong's poetry were a means, not an end in itself. Unfortunately, it is impossible to directly assess the balance between religiousness and artistic rhetoric in Daozong's poetry, for his poetry is lost. We cannot judge if Daozong's poetry was really different from that of other poet-monks. We can only assume that Bai Juyi's more positive assessment of Daozong was based in their personal acquaintance. In other words, Daozong's poetry might be easily read as non-religious if the reader was a stranger to the poet. Bai Juyi's religious assumption of Daozong's works might have been based on his knowledge of the poet's background.

The two points together indicate that Bai Juyi presumed a religious purpose of

monk *shi* poetry because the poets were religious devotees, which essentially reflects the social convention to distinguish Buddhist monks from other social groups. Bai Juyi argued that all the poet-monks' writings, regardless of genres and forms, should be written for Buddhism. A few Buddhist historians presented a similar view in the accounts of the Tang poet-monks. The Tang monk Fulin 福琳 (*fl.c.* 785)[54] wrote the biography of the Middle Tang poet-monk Jiaoran and also treated the artistic expressions in Jiaoran's poetry as a means to attract people to Buddhism: "Jiaoran expressed his inner feelings in the poetic recitations, and it was said that his poetry expressed the finest craftsmanship of poetry. His literary works were profound and beautiful, and Jiaoran was called a great vessel of the Buddhist monasteries... [Jiaoran's poetry] was only to attract and persuade the readers with verse initially and [then] lead them to the wisdom of Buddha. It was the basic purpose [of his poetry] to convert people [to Buddhism]." [於篇什中，吟詠情性，所謂造其微矣。文章雋麗，當時號爲釋門偉器哉...莫非始以詩句牽勸，令入佛智，行化之意，本在乎茲。][55] The Song Buddhist historian Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) also defended the Middle Tang poet-monk Lingyi similarly, "[Lingyi] showed people his literary works so as to attract the secular intellectuals." [示人文藝，以誘世智。][56] Interestingly, the poet-monks defended by Fulin and Zanning were the same poet-monks condemned by Bai Juyi for writing poetry for art's sake. Fulin and Zanning used the same argument

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[54] There is a short account of Fulin in Zanning 贊寧, *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song biographies of the eminent monks) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 2: 730. In this account Fulin was said to die in the second year of the Xingyuan 興元 period. There was only one year of the Xingyuan period (784). As Fulin wrote about the death year of Jiaoran in the year 798, Fulin should be still alive in the year 785. Ibid., 739, footnote 2.

[55] Fulin's account of Jiaoran's biography is included in Zanning 贊寧, *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song biographies of the eminent monks) in *T*, 50: 891c-2b. *Song gaoseng zhuan* is referred as *SGSZ* afterwards.

[56] *SGZ*, 799a.

as Bai Juyi for Daozong to vindicate Jiaoran and Lingyi's poetry.

Not all Buddhist monks argued that the poet-monks were writing poetry for religion. Zongze 宗賾 (c. 1054-1106) criticised the Late Tang poet-monks Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912) and Qiji 齊己 (864-c. 943) in *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (*Rules of purity for the Chan monastery*) edited in the year 1103 that they overdid their literary freedom:

> If the language used by the scribe is refined and elegant and the style is well suited to the message, then a letter transmitting a message a thousand miles away can still represent the glory of the assembly. He must not use pen and ink to spite or intimidate his colleagues with no consideration for the Dharma. Monk Chanyue (Guanxiu)[57] and Qiji were but called poet-monks; Jia Dao and Huixiu drifted among the secular officials—but was this their intention when they became monks?
> 若語言典重，式度如法，千里眉目，一眾光彩。然不得一向事持筆硯輕侮同袍，不將佛法爲事。禪月齊己，止號詩僧，賈島惠休，流離俗宦，豈出家之本意也。[58]

This passage from *Chanyuan qinggui* explains a view of the use of a Buddhist monk's literary skills: literary adequacy was preferable in the monasteries, but literary practice should not be excessive and should be in service to religion. Guanxiu and Qiji were criticised for taking poetry writing so seriously that they were called poet-monks, an attitude unsuitable for the clergy. It further criticised Jia Dao 賈島 (779-843) and Huixiu 惠休 (*fl.c.* 453-464), who were once Buddhist monks and returned to laity for officialdom, wrote poetry to associate with the officials.[59] However, the

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[57] Guanxiu was granted the title *Chanyue dashi* 禪月大師 (Master Chanyue) by Wang Jian 王建 (847-918) the king of former Shu during the Wudai period.

[58] Yifa's translation with some moderation. Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: an Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 159.

[59] Huixiu enjoyed poetic fame when he was a Buddhist monk. The Song emperor Liu Jun 劉駿 (r. 453-464) ordered him to return to laity and appointed him to an official post. See Shen Yue 沈約, *Song shu*

condemnation of writing poetry for art in *Chanyuan qinggui* neither specifies that monk *shi* poetry should be limited to a religious theme nor lays out the suitable degree the poet-monks could cultivate their skills of poetry writing. The measure of a poet-monk's overdoing literary freedom is unclear.

The literati's reception of monk *shi* poetry after the Tang and Wudai periods mostly focused on the artistic characteristics of individual monks' works and if these characteristics were relevant to religion. For instance, the Ming (1368-1644) scholar Tang Ruxun 唐汝詢 (*fl.c.* 1621-1627) commented on the poem *Shengguo si* 聖果寺 (The Shengguo temple) of the Late Tang poet-monk Chumo 處默 (*fl.c.* 832-912), "Of the Tang people's poems on objects, Wang Wei's poems were the most profound. Other poems [after Wang Wei] were all influenced by him. Only this poem [Chumo's *Shengguo si*] comes from a Buddhist monk, but not a word mentions Chan teachings. The matching line (of the second couplet) is praised by the lay people. Wang Wei was like the Buddha of poetry. Was Chumo like a secular monk of the Jetavana Park?"[60] [唐人探物之作，惟王右丞最深，他皆影響。獨此出比丘之口，無一語及禪，落句又俗人所肯道。然則右丞固詞壇之佛祖，處默爲祇園之俗僧與？][61] Tang Ruxun compared Wang Wei and Chumo's poems: Wang Wei's poems were long

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宋書 (History of the Song) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 1847. Jia Dao was once a Buddhist monk known as Wuben 無本. It was uncertain when he returned to laity, but it was known that he took the *jinshi* examination several times after he left the clergy. Jia Dao studied poetry with Han Yu and Yao He, and his poetry was much appreciated by the poet-monks.

[59] Zhong Rong 鍾嶸, *Shi pin* 詩品 (Poetic criticism) (Taipei: Jinfeng chubanshe, 1986), 165.

[60] *Zhiyuan* 祇園 (Jetavana Park) was a park donated by Prince Jeta to Buddha where monasterial buildings were built.

[61] Tang Ruxun 唐汝詢, "*Tang shi jie* 唐詩解 (Explications of Tang poetry)," in *Tang ren lüshi jian zhu ji ping* 唐人律詩箋注集評 (A collected commentaries and notations of Tang regulated verse), ed. Chen Zenjie 陳增杰, 1044 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2003). The edited title is referred as *TRLSJZJP* afterwards.

regarded to express strong Buddhist spirituality, and therefore Wang Wei was called the Buddha of poetry. Although Chumo was a Buddhist monk, his poem *Shengguo si* did not convey any distinct Buddhist spirituality. The lack of a religious reference in Chumo's poem, therefore, was regarded as being unusual for monk poetry by Tang Ruxun and made the poet-monk "secular". In other words, Tang Ruxun thought it a custom of monk *shi* poetry to be relevant to religion.

The Qing scholar He Wenhuan 何文煥 (1732-1809) regarded monk *shi* poetry fundamentally relevant to (Chan) Buddhism in his criticism of the poet-monk Jiaoran, "Zhushan (Jiaoran) essentially observed true Chan teachings. His poetry was a side study. He was so-called [a Chan practitioner] who can transcend above the dharma of the words and produce words." [杼山本禪真，詩乃其餘事，所謂能于離文字法，出生文字者也。][62] He Wenhuan believed that Jiaoran had based his poetry writing on his practice of the Chan Buddhist teachings. Chan Buddhism originally held a suspicion about the capacity of language to reveal the ultimate truth. From the Tang period, however, it encouraged Chan practitioners to liberate themselves from uncritical disciplinary observation and believed the pursuit of spirituality could be practiced in all one's conduct.[63] In He Wenhuan's opinion, because Jiaoran was a Chan monk, his poetry writing surely would be influenced by Chan Buddhism. Both Tang Ruxun and He Wenhuan, therefore, essentially argued that monk *shi* poetry was not separate from religion.

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[62] He Wenhuan 何文煥, "*Tang lü xiao xia lu zeng ping* 唐律消夏錄增評 (Added commentary to a record of Tang regulated verse for decreasing summer heat)" in *TRLSJZJP*, 519. Jiaoran lived in Zhushan 杼山 (Mt. Zhu) (in today's Zhejiang), and Jiaoran's poetry collection is called *Zhushan ji* 杼山集 (Zhushan collection).

[63] See further discussion, pp. 58-60.

Modern studies usually do not argue to the extreme that the monks should write poetry for religion, but they believe religion is an important motivation and influence on the monks' poetry writing. They do not differentiate monk *shi* poetry from *ji* verse and treat them as one common genre. Of all the schools in Buddhism, the Chan teachings are often regarded a major influence on monk poetry. For instance, modern scholar Xiao Lihua 蕭麗華 explains why there were poet-monks in Chinese society:

> Poet-monks were a side-reflection of the integration of poetry and Chan Buddhism...In terms of monk poetry, there was a gradually formed trend to integrate Chan studies in to poetry writing or using Chan as a metaphor to poetry. The Buddhist monks combined the internal learning and external learning as one practice. Chan monks often used poetry to demonstrate the Way or to recite the past examples of the Chan masters. This was a cultural phenomenon produced in the vigorous interaction between poetry and Buddhism...Because the Middle and Late Tang poet-monks studied poetry seriously they pondered on the contradictions, dependence and priorities in the relationship between poetry and Chan Buddhism. In the end they did not abandon poetry but combined poetry writing and Chan studies together and also include the Chan principles in the poetics.[64]
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> 詩僧是詩禪合轍的文化側影……在詩歌方面漸而形成以禪入詩，以禪喻詩的現象，在佛教僧徒方面，也融合著內學、外學，禪僧多以詩示道，以詩頌古，這是詩禪交匯光芒所形成的文化現象……因爲中晚唐詩僧專意爲詩，認真尋索詩禪二者的矛盾、依存與主次關係，最後不僅不捨詩事，更以詩禪合轍的方式從事創作並歸納禪法於詩歌理論。

Xiao Lihua believes that the existence of the poet-monks was a sign of Buddhism integrated into the Chinese culture. The Middle and Late Tang poet-monks in particular tried to combine the Chan studies with poetry writing. Xiao Lihua does not differentiate monk *shi* poetry from *ji* verse. In the quoted passage, she states, "Chan monks often used poetry to demonstrate the Way or to recite the past examples of the

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[64] Xiao Lihua 蕭麗華, "*Wan Tang shiseng Qiji de shi chan shijie* 晚唐詩僧齊己的詩禪世界 (Late Tang poet-monk Qiji's view to poetry writing and meditation)," in *Tangdai shige yu Chan xue* 唐代詩歌與禪學 (Tang poetry and Chan studies) (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1997), 173-5. This book section is henceforth referred to as *WTSQ*.

Chan masters." [禪僧多以詩示道，以詩頌古。] *Songgu* 頌古 (recite the past examples) is a form of *ji* verse starting from the tenth century and preserved mainly in Buddhist works. This type of *ji* verse is treated in the same way on monk *shi* poetry. From the viewpoint of Xiao Lihua's study, the spirit of the Chan studies can be found in both *ji* verse and monk *shi* poetry.

Another scholar Tan Zhaowen 覃召文 in the preface of *Chan yue shi hun* 禪月詩魂 (Chan moon and poetry spirit) also argues that the poet-monks combined the Chan studies with their poetry writing and developed Chan poetry:

> The true value of the poet-monks should be of culture and philosophy...When the poet-monks integrate poetry with religion and transcended their poetry to the Chan spiritual sphere to reflect one's mind, from this "seed" of spiritual cultivation developed a new type of culture—a culture of writing for the Chan teachings different from writing poetry for the socio-political purposes...Before the Middle and Late Tang, even though the Buddhist monks also wrote poetry, they mostly wrote poetry as a means to clarify Buddhist teachings and demonstrate Chan enlightenment and did not view poetry as an art. In comparison to this, the Middle and Late Tang poet-monks often were motivated by an artistic obsession...The monks essentially could not write poetry without the Chan Buddhist teachings.
>
> 詩僧的真正價值應該是屬于文化哲學的……當詩僧把詩把佛整合爲一體，並將其提升到禪的境界上作心靈的觀照、參究之時，這顆心靈的"種子"也便萌發出一種新質的文化，一種迥異於傳統詩教文化的詩禪文化……在中晚唐之前，僧侶固然也作詩，但大多把作詩看作明佛證禪的手段，並不把詩歌看成藝術，而比較起來，中晚唐詩僧往往有著迷戀藝術的創作動機……僧侶要作詩從根本上說離不開禪道。[65]

Thus Tan Zhaowen takes a similar view to Xiao Lihua that monk poetry was an art expressing the poet-monks' religious practice. The poet-monks combined poetry writing and the Chan studies together as one practice. Only the Middle and Late Tang poet-monks were not particularly motivated by their religious devotion to write poetry.

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[65] Tan Zhaowen 覃召文, *Chan yue shi hun* 禪月詩魂 (Chan moon and poetry spirit) , 1-91.

Nevertheless Tan Zhaowen concludes that the poet-monks essentially could not avoid religious influence on their poetry writing. Tan Zhaowen explicitly does not differentiate *ji* verse from monk *shi* poetry,[66] and treats all forms of monk poetry as a spiritual expression.

The assumption that religion plays an important role in the monks' poetry writing is also sometimes hinted at in the modern poetry anthologies. Monk poetry is an independent category in *An Anthology of Translations: Classical Chinese Literature, Vol. 1* titled as "Cold Mountain: Poetry of Zen and the Tao", and it comprises both *ji* verse and monk *shi* poems.[67] The title and the selected monk poems imply that the major contribution of monk poetry as a whole is their religious inspiration, reflecting the social convention to distinguish the poet-monks from the literati by their ideological backgrounds and their works subsequently.

The reviewed studies so far do not necessarily differentiate monk *shi* poetry from *ji* verse. They focus on monk *shi* poetry as the works of Buddhists and should be for a religious purpose. Monk *shi* poetry did not attract much criticism until the Middle Tang when there was increasing number of poet-monks writing sophisticated *shi* poems without a religious message. The poet-monks from the Middle Tang onwards are criticised to write poetry for art instead of for religion. In these studies,

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[66] Ibid., 7-10. Tan Zhaowen does not differentiate *ji* verse from monk *shi* poetry because *ji* verse was written in the rhyming pattern of *shi* poetry. However, this observation is not entirely true. Not all monk *ji* verse was written according to the rhyming patterns of *shi* poetry, for example, Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) had a *ji* verse recorded in *GSZ* which did not rhyme like a *shi* poem. *GSZ*, 358a.

[67] John Minford, and Joseph S. M. Lau, eds. *Classical Chinese Literature: An anthology of Translations vol. I: From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty* (New York and Hong Kong: Columbia Univerysity Press and the Chinese University Press, 2000), 975-88.

religion should be the cause of and was the greatest influence on the monks' poetry writing.

1.2.2. Reading two: monk poetry to promote the poets

The Middle Tang literatus Liu Yuxi provided a different reading of monk *shi* poetry in *Che shangren wenji*:

> Buddhist monks have been writing good poetry. Monk Huixiu recited *Parting sorrows*, and monk Yue wrote poetry to lament about the Imperial Secretary Fan. Their poems were all greatly admired by their contemporary talented scholars. Over time, more and more gifted poet-monks appeared...The so-called poet-monks are mostly from the Jiangzuo region. Lingyi was the source, and Huguo inherited [Lingyi's poetic tradition]. Qingjiang spread [the tradition], and Fazhen continued it. Their poetry was like the single note of the last string [of a zither] that reaches the human ear occasionally; it was not the sounds of the grand music. Only Master Zhou (Jiaoran) of Wuxing was able to write all forms of poetry. After Master Zhou, Lingche carried on [Jiaoran's] legacy. Poems by Lingche like *A new temple in Peony Garden*, "Buddhist sutra came to the White Horse temple; monks live in the Chiwu period;"[68] or the poem *Demoted to Dingzhou*, "Blue flies are the mourners;[69] yellow dog sends the family letter,"[70] it can be said that Lingche's writing skills are of the great writers. Should Lingche be only regarded as an outstanding poet among the poet-monks?
> 釋子工爲詩尚矣。休上人賦別怨，約法師哭范尚書，咸爲當時才士之所傾歎。厥後比比有之……世之言詩僧，多出江左。靈一導其源，護國襲之；清江揚其波，法振沿之。如么絃孤韻，瞥入人耳，非大樂之音。獨吳興晝公能備眾體。晝公後澈承之。至如《芙蓉園新寺》詩云：「經來白馬寺，僧到赤烏年。」《謫汀洲》云：「青蠅爲弔客，黃耳寄家書。」可謂入作者閫域，豈特雄於詩僧間耶？[71]

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[68] *Chiwu* 赤烏 period (238-251) of the Wu kingdom during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280).

[69] This is an allusion from the biography of Yu Fan 虞翻 in *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms) to mean that one does not have any friend, so only blue flies come to mourn his funeral. Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 5: 1317-28.

[70] This is an allusion from the biography of Lu Ji 陸機 in *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin). Lu Ji used his pet dog *Huang'er* 黃耳 (Yellow Ears) to pass family letter form him. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡. *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 5: 1473.

[71] See the footnote 29.

Liu Yuxi's remark shows a literary convention to categorise *ji* verse as religious works in contrast to *shi* poetry as culture learning. Liu Yuxi traced the lineage of monk *shi* poetry to the pre-Tang poet-monks instead of the Buddhist sutras. The poetry of monk Yue 約 is lost and cannot be assessed, but the remaining work of Huixiu recorded in *XQHWNBCS* was *shi* poetry.[72] The poetry of the Middle Tang poet-monks in *QTS* was also mainly of *shi* poetic forms. Therefore, Liu Yuxi's remark was mainly on monk *shi* poetry and does not include *ji* verse. He relayed a poetic heritage from Lingyi to Lingche to point out that these poet-monks were not occasional, random poets but serious contenders of literary compositions. He further compared Middle Tang monk *shi* poetry to literati poetry, and emphasise that the artistic quality of monk *shi* poetry could be comparable to literati poetry. Liu Yuxi's separation of monk *shi* poetry from *ji* verse and his comparison between monk *shi* poems to literati poetry indicate that he treated monk *shi* poetry within the Chinese *shi* tradition.

A general distinction of monk *shi* poetry and *ji* verse was evident in the poetry anthologies compiled by the Tang and Wudai literati.[73] For example, the Middle Tang literatus Gao Zhongwu 高仲武 (*fl.c.* 780)[74] compiled *Zhongxing jianqi ji* 中興間氣集 (Great poets of the revival collection) and selected about 130 poems from twenty-six poets composed between the years 756 and 779, including four of the poet-monk Lingyi's *shi* poems.[75] There were also other examples. Yao He 姚合 (c. 779-c.846)

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[72] *XQHWNBCS*, 2: 1243-5.

[73] The poetry anthologies compiled during the Tang and Wudai periods are preserved in *Tang ren xuan Tang shi xin bian* 唐人選唐詩新編 (New edition of Tang poetic anthologies compiled in the Tang), ed. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1999). This title is henceforth referred to as *TRXTS*.

[74] Gao Zhongwu selected the poems between the years 756 and 779 in *Zhongxing jianqi ji*. He should be active during the late 8th century.

[75] *TRXTS*, 456-523.

compiled *Jixuan ji* 極玄集 (Ultimate mystery collection)[76] and chose a hundred poems from twenty-one Tang poets of which four were poet-monks. Wei Zhuang 韋莊 (836-910) and his contemporary literatus Wei Hu 韋縠 (*fl.c.* 934-965) selected works of eleven and twelve monks respectively in *Youxuan ji* 又玄集 (Reiterating mystery collection)[77] and *Caidiao ji* 才調集 (Talent and style collection).[78] All the selected monk poems in these Tang poetry anthologies were of *shi* poetry.

Putting the monk *shi* poems together with literati poetry in the anthologies suggested that monk *shi* poetry was regarded comparable to literati poetry by the compilers. For instance, Yao He wrote in the preface of *Jixuan ji*, "These are all the eagle shooters among poets. I group and select the extremely profound works out of their poetry collections so as to have the understanding and avoid criticism from the later generations. There are twenty-one people in total and a hundred poems." [此皆詩家射雕之手也。合於眾集中更選其極玄者，恕免後來之非。凡二十一人，共百首。][79] "Eagle shooter" is a metaphor for the first-rate writers among poets. Yao He selected a hundred poems from the twenty-one best poets in his opinion, and there were four poet-monks enjoyed such privilege along with seventeen literati poets. Yao He did not give further commentary on any individual poet's works, but it is clear that the monk poems in *Jixuan ji* were considered equally well with literati poems.

Not only some Tang literati separated monk *shi* poetry from *ji* verse, some Buddhist monks also had the same literary treatment. For instance, the Late Tang

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[76] *TRXTS*, 532-67.

[77] *TRXTS*, 579-682.

[78] *TRXTS*, 691-978.

[79] *TRXTS*, 532.

poet-monk Qiji 齊己 (864-c. 943) stated that monk *shi* poetry and *ji* verse served different purposes in the work *Longya heshang ji song xu* 龍牙和尚偈頌序 (Preface to monk Longya's *ji* verse):

> *Ji* verse passed down in the Chan school from the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch to the sixth Chinese patriarch, and afterwards the *ji* verse was lost. Henceforth, learned elderly monks of various places often write *ji* verse. They mean to recite and express the mysterious teachings[80]...At the beginning of the Xiantong period (860-874), there was *ji* verse of masters Xinfeng and Baiya spread around in the Chan communities. Although the form of their *ji* verse is the same with *shi* poetry, its message is not of *shi* poetry."
> 禪門所傳偈頌，自二十八祖，止於六祖，已降則亡。厥後諸方老宿，亦多爲之，蓋以吟暢玄旨也……洎咸通初，有新豐、白崖大師所作，多流散於禪林，雖體同於詩，厥旨非詩。[81]

Qiji claimed that the chief function of *ji* verse is to convey a religious message. Although Longya's *ji* verse was written in the *shi* forms, its purpose still continued the legacy of Chan *ji* verse which was different from the *shi* poetic tradition. Qiji does not clarify his notion of the *shi* poetic tradition, but he is clear that *ji* verse is for religion in spite of its poetic forms, and *shi* poetry is not.[82]

Many literati after the Wudai period tended to appreciate monk *shi* poetry as works to express their religious spirituality, but some clearly regarded the religious reference in monk *shi* poetry as a weakness in poetic art. For instance, the early Qing (1636-1912) scholar He Yisun 賀貽孫 (*fl.c.* 1637-1650) commented on Tang monk

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[80] *Xuanzhi* 玄旨 means difficult teachings. Here it should be Buddhist teachings.

[81] Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, "*Qiji yi wen* '*Longya heshang ji song xu*' *kao shu* 齊己佚文〈龍牙和尚偈頌序〉考述 (A textual study on a lost prose of Qiji 'Preface to monk Longya's *ji* verse')," *Yiyang shizhuan xuebao* 益陽師專學報 (Journal of Yiyang Teachers' College), 15, no. 4 (1994): 76-7.

[82] The modern scholar Zhou Yukai shares with Qiji's viewpoint and further argues that monk *shi* poetry was written mainly for artistic interest, not for religion; *ji* verse, on the other hand, was meant for Buddhist propagation. *Zhou*, 39-40.

shi poetry, "There were more than ten Tang poet-monks passing their poetry down. Other than Jiaoran, the poet-monks Wuke, Qingsai, Qiji and Guanxiu should be acknowledged as the best poet-monks, for the works of these poets do not have an air of the alms bowl." [唐釋子以詩傳者數十家，然皎然外，應推無可、清塞、齊己、貫休爲最，以此數人無鉢盂氣也。][83] *Boyu qi* 鉢盂氣 (air of the alms bowl) refers to the characteristics indicating the poet-monks' monastic background which is expressed in nature imagery surrounding the monastic life.[84] In He Yisun's opinion, monk *shi* poetry was not a by-product to manifest the monks' religious studies. Monk *shi* poetry could dissociate from the poet-monks' religious background.

The most common way for the literati to appreciate monk *shi* poetry in the *shi* poetic tradition was to compare monk *shi* poetry to literati poetry. Xie Zhen 謝榛 (1495-1575), for example, compared one of Guanxiu's couplet to one of Li Bo's:

> Guanxiu said, "The garden flowers are in the mist, and water sounds clear; the child cries to ask for the oriole on the tree." The image is substantial but not interesting. Li Bo said, "The snowflakes in the Yan mountains are like the sitting mats; each flake is blown to the Xuanyuan tower."[85] The image is hollow but has flavour.
> 貫休曰：「庭花濛濛水泠泠，小兒啼索樹上鶯。」景實而無趣。太白曰：「燕山雪花大如席，片片吹落軒轅臺。」景虛而有味。[86]

By comparing Guanxiu's couplet to Li Bo's, Xie Zhen practically appreciated both within the *shi* poetic tradition. Monk *shi* poetry was not necessary to be read in the

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[83] He Yisun 賀貽孫, "*Shi fa* 詩筏 (Poetry raft)," in *TRLSJZJP*, 837.

[84] *Zhou*, 45-53. See relevant discussion, pp. 161-7.

[85] *Xuanyuan tai* 軒轅臺 locates in today's Hebei province and is said to be the tomb of the sage king Xuanyuan 軒轅.

[86] Xie Zhen 謝榛, "*Siming shihua* 四溟詩話 (Siming poetic talks)," in *Lidai shihua xu bian* 歷代詩話續編 (Continued compilation of poetic talks of the dynasties), ed. Ding Fubao 丁福保, 1149 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983)

context of religion, and it had its own artistic value.

Some modern studies on monk *shi* poetry have treated religion as a minor factor in the poet-monks' poetry writing, arguing that their works should be appreciated and evaluated fully within the tradition of Chinese *shi* poetry. Stephen Owen, for instance, perceiving monk *shi* poetry primarily following the Chinese poetic tradition, argues that the faith of poet-monks did not play an important role in monk *shi* poetry and argues that monk *shi* poetry and literati poetry was much the same. Owen states, "Most poet-monks worked entirely within secular poetic tradition, though sometimes making reference to Buddhist terms or adopting a mode of reclusive or landscape poetry that vaguely suggested Buddhist values."[87] Reading Liu Yuxi's remark *Che shangren wenji* (as previously quoted), Owen further disagrees with the differentiation of the poet-monks from the literati implied in Liu Yuxi's description:

> Liu Yuxi describes a tradition of poetry by south-eastern monks as the movement of a river. The river was also a common metaphorical model by which to describe the history of literature by secular writers, and in Liu's description these two streams are independent and do not "flow together." The separateness that Liu saw was an illusion fostered by a convention of Chinese historiography, the clear differentiation between secular and religious figures.[88]

Owen argues that the history of monk (*shi*) poetry was actually integrated with that of literati poetry. Monk *shi* poetry therefore should be evaluated within the *shi poetic tradition*. He is, however, obscure about whether the assemblage of monk and literati poetry means merging of distinctions between the poet-monks and the secular literati.

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[87] Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 404.

[88] Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese poetry: the High T'ang* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1981), 282.

Other than evaluating monk *shi* poetry according to its similar characteristics with literati poetry, several modern studies have put monk *shi* poetry into the context of *shi* tradition because the poet-monks largely used their poems for social purposes. Sun Changwu 孫昌武, for example, argues in *Fojiao yu Zhongguo wenxue* 佛教與中國文學 (Buddhism and Chinese literature) that the poet-monks were little different from the literati:

> Many so-called "famous monks", "eminent monks" did not regard themselves as "people beyond the bounds",[89] and other people did not share the view either. They did not treasure the reclusion in the mountains, practicing religious rituals and studying the Buddhist sutras as virtuous conduct. Instead, they widely participated in the living of the seculars. The literati could widely associate with the Buddhist monks too. Many monks were part of the social regimen of the literati. Some secular intellectuals joined the Buddhist clergy. The Middle and Late Tang "poet-monks" were but poets disguised in Buddhist robes.
>
> 不少所謂"名僧"、"高僧"，不自視爲、別人也不把他們看作是"方外之人"，他們也不以隱居山林、禮佛通經爲高尚事，而是廣泛參與社會生活中來。文人們也就得以廣泛結交僧徒。不少僧侶出入文人圈子。有些知識分子則出家爲僧，中、晚唐的"詩僧"們，不過是披著袈裟的詩人。[90]

In the quoted passage Sun Changwu concludes that the Middle and Late Tang poet-monks, in spite of their religious service, acted like ordinary literati and even calls the poet-monks as "poets disguised in Buddhist robes". His argument is based on the fact that the poet-monks' poetic fame allowed them to form a close association with the ruling elites and improve their social standing. Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程, in the study

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[89] See the relevant discussion, 40-43.

[90] Sun Changwu 孫昌武, *Fojiao yu Zhongguo wenxue* 佛教與中國文學 (Buddhism and Chinese literature) (Taipei Donghua shuju, 1989), 88. Cf. Puhui 普慧, "*Zou chu kongji de diantang—Tang dai shiseng de shisu hua* 走出空寂的殿堂—唐代詩僧的世俗化 (Walking out of the empty and lonely hall—the secularisation of the Tang monk poets)," *Yuwen xuekan* 語文學刊 (Journal of Language and Literature), no. 5 (1997):1. Puhui argues similarly but judges further that the poet-monks took their religious practice less seriously than poetry.

"*Lun Tang dai de wenxue chongbai yu wenxue shihui* 論唐代的文學崇拜與文學社會 (Essay on the worship of literature and the literary society in the Tang)," also observes that the poet-monks used their poems to prvomote their social standing.[91] Many poet-monks were known to call on important literati and present their poems for advice, and in doing so they might receive acknowledgement from the literati and increase the chance to receive patronage or even an official post. This pattern of social interaction was similar to the literati seeking acknowledgement of their works from the established literati-officials and increased their prospect of officialdom. Such social interactions of the poet-monks are criticised by these modern scholars to be "secular", and their poems therefore functioned like literati poetry.

The reviewed studies in the reading based on the literary convention all separate monk *shi* poetry from *ji* verse and treat monk *shi* poetry in the same category as literati poetry. Monk *shi* poetry from the Middle Tang onward was artistically comparable to literati poetry. Moreover, these studies also point out that monk *shi* poetry is a means for the poet-monks to interact with the literati as well as to pursue an official post.

1.2.3. Uncertainty of the religious role in monk poetry

The discussed two readings of monk *shi* poetry reveal two conceptions: the reception based on the social convention emphasises on the poet-monks' religious identity and argues that monk *shi* poetry should be for, or at least largely relevant to,

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[91] Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程, "*Lun Tangdai de wenxue chongbai yu wenxue shihui*" 論唐代的文學崇拜與文學社會 (Essay on the worship of literature and the literary society in the Tang)," in *Wan Tang de shihui yu wenhua* 晚唐的社會與文化 (The society and culture of the late Tang), ed. Danjiang daxue zhongwenxi 淡江大學中文系, 61-7 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1990)

religion. The reception based on the literary convention distinguishes monk *shi* poetry from *ji* verse and treats monk *shi* poetry within the Chinese poetic tradition. For example, Bai Juyi and Liu Yuxi commented on essentially the same group of poet-monks and their poetry, and if their critique is taken as representative of the two readings, Bai Juyi devalued the monks' religious commitment for their serious cultivation of *shi* poetic art, but Liu Yuxi praised the artistic value in monk *shi* poems without questioning the poet-monks' religious devotion.

The two readings of monk *shi* poetry end in almost opposite conclusions: from the Buddhist perspective monk *shi* poetry was for religion; from the literary perspective monk *shi* poetry was for unreligious purposes. These oppositional conclusions can be explained by the uncertain influence of religion in the monks' poetry writing, which is reflected in a frequent lack of a religious message in monk *shi* poetry. If the poet-monks indeed wrote *shi* poetry for non-Buddhist purposes, why would the Buddhist clergy endure their poetry writing in the monasteries? Were the poet-monks really "literati disguised in Buddhist robe?"

An alternative perspective

Monk *shi* poetry in contrast to literati poetry implies that the poet-monks were different from the literati. Although the poet-monks and the literati wrote poetry together, the two groups of poets represented different social roles and moral values in society.

The secular scholars who followed the Confucian canons, on one hand, were meant to preserve the culture learning and administrate the state government. Peter K. Bol defines the social function of the (Confucian) *shi* 士 scholars in his work "*This*

Culture of Ours": "As *shi* they were members of the elite rather than of the commonalty (*su* 俗) or of the populace (*min* 民). As a group their function was to "serve" (仕) in government rather than to farm the land, work as craftsmen, or engage in trade. And they supposed that they had the education and talent necessary to serve in government and guide society."[92] The dominance in the political and culture scenes was an unquestionable right of the scholars who followed the Confucian canons.

The moral values of Buddhist monks, on the other hand, were conceived in their commitment to a spiritual and unworldly life apart from the secular conventions, for the clergy were members of the *fangwai* 方外 (beyond the bounds) tradition.[93] According to the Indian customs Buddhist monks were not supposed to be employed in the political system; the clergy was even independent from the secular powers. Kenneth K. S. Chen explained in *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, "In India, the Buddhist *sanhga* (the clergy) considered itself to be a community beyond the authority of the secular rulers. It claimed to be an organization consisting of the members who had renounced the involvements and attachments of family, society, and the state to live the religious life of the recluse. By joining the Buddhist clergy and undertaking the vows of celibacy, poverty, subsistence on alms, and the cultivation of monastic discipline, the Buddhist monk no longer felt bound by the norms of political and social conduct that governed the lives of ordinary people."[94] In reality, however, the clergy's independence from the state was not possible in China. The clergy as the followers of a foreign tradition needed the support of the Chinese

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[92] *TCO*, 4.

[93] Peter K.Bol, "*This Culture of Ours*": *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), 21. This title is referred as *TCO* afterwards.

[94] Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 65.

rulers to exist in society. A monk-official system was also created to recruit Buddhist to manage the monasteries for the state.[95] Although in reality Buddhist monks were recruited by the Chinese government to manage the Buddhist monasteries, the Buddhist clergy was still generally regarded as an unworldly career.

The distinction between the secular scholars and Buddhist monks was in reality not as rigid as it seemed in the Tang time. As seen in the quoted works of Bai Juyi and Liu Yuxi, secular scholars and Buddhists interacted frequently on friendly terms. Many secular scholars, like both Bai Juyi and Liu Yuxi, believed in Buddhism in their private lives. Likewise, Buddhists generally held a receptive attitude toward the teachings of Confucian canons. Their mutual acceptance motivated an intellectual and religious syncretism. However, this syncretism remained largely in the personal contacts and private sphere. In public life the secular scholars and Buddhist monks advocated the respective traditions they followed. Secular scholars would not base their advice for governance on the Buddhist teachings; Buddhist monks would not manage their monasteries according the principles in the Confucian canons. Although this did not mean an exclusion of mutual welfare, there was nevertheless a public division between the communities of different teachings, and the members of individual communities sought to improve the welfare and influence primarily of their community.

The division in public life offered a framework for monk *shi* poetry to build up a common ground for secular scholars and Buddhists to interact. *Shi* poetry as an art expressed the moral values of the poet as well as serving a social reformative purpose.

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[95] See the relevant discussion, pp. 62-66.

Therefore monk *shi* poetry in theory could be relevant to both Buddhist and Confucian canon teachings: the Buddhist values by the poets' religious background and the Confucian values through the socio-political admonition of *shi* poetry. It is, however, a question how poet-monks could reconcile the Buddhist and Confucian values.

This thesis proposes an alternative perspective to study the nature of monk *shi* poetry: monk *shi* poetry is external learning to the Buddhist monks, and the purpose of their poetry writing is within the function of external learning. The function of external learning is contextualised in the Buddhist clergy's socio-political position in relation to non-Buddhists, that is, Confucians scholars (defined as secular scholars who followed Confucian canon traditions, in contrast to the philosophically exclusive Confucian scholars during the Song period) and Taoists. From this perspective, this thesis investigates why the Buddhist monks devoted themselves to *shi* poetry writing, what the actual function of monk *shi* poetry as a Confucian canon study was to the Buddhist clergy, how monk *shi* poetry was relevant to the Buddhist teachings, and how the characteristics of monk *shi* poetry were related to religion and the *shi* poetic tradition. The investigation of these thesis core questions also serves to explore what inspired the rise of the poet-monks from the Middle Tang.

1.3. Research Materials and Thesis Structure

This thesis focuses on the poet-monks and their *shi* poetry between the fourth and the tenth centuries, in particular from the Middle Tang to the Wudai period, for this period was the time when monk *shi* poetry flourished.

Research Materials

The major research materials are monk *shi* poems which reveal information to the thesis core questions and the biographies of the poet-monks from the three hagiographies of the eminent monks—*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of the eminent monks), *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continuation of Biographies of the eminent monks)[96] and *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song biographies of the eminent monks)—and *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳 (Biographies of the Tang talents). The biographies of poet-monks often offer significant background information of their poetry writing as well as the viewpoint of the biography writers on their works. Other historical resources and modern studies on the life or works of the poet-monks are included in the studies. Historical records of the poet-monks' social interactions such as the literati's poems to poet-monks or the preface of poet-monks' poetry collection are also consulted in the studies. Although *ji* verse is not the main focus in this thesis, it is compared with monk *shi* poetry where it is necessary in the analysis. After a analytic survey of monk *shi* poetry, a case study explores how the life and works of two poet-monks, Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912) and Qiji 齊己 (864-c. 943), were influenced by the function of external learning.

There are several considerations for the chosen poet-monks for the case study. A comparison of two poet-monks will assess the importance of their individual personal motivations for their poetry writing. The compared poet-monks should be contemporaries to exclude the literary and cultural variations of each period. Although the rise of the poet-monks started from the Middle Tang, the Late Tang poet-monks wrote poetry even more fervently and the quantity of their recorded poems in *QTS* far surpassed their Middle Tang predecessors. Therefore, Late Tang monk *shi* poetry is

[96] Daoxuan 道宣, *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continuation of biographies of the eminent monks) in *T*, Vol. 50. This title is referred as *XGSZ* afterwards.

better suited for a case study. Another important consideration for the case study concerns the available resources of monk *shi* poetry and the monastic background of the poet-monks. Many Tang poet-monks' work collections are incomplete or have been lost altogether, forbidding a comprehensive overview of their poetry. However, there were three Tang monks—Jiaoran, Guanxiu and Qiji—whose poems are relatively well preserved. As the case study aims to explore the poet-monks' individualities in their poetry writing, a similar background of the poet-monks is desirable to highlight the individual differences. Jiaoran only became a monk in the prime years.[97] His poetry was unavoidably a mixture production from his secular literati and cleric career. A large portion of Jiaoran's poems are not yet edited chronologically, and it would be difficult to discern the works written after Jiaoran joined the clergy. Such difficulty is less in the case of Guanxiu and Qiji. Guanxiu and Qiji both lived in monasteries from a young age. They grew up and received education in the monasteries and never left the clergy. The similarities and consistency of their religious career decreases the complexity of evaluating of their individualities. Therefore I choose the Late Tang poet-monks Guanxiu and Qiji as the case study in this thesis.

The texts of Guanxiu's poems in *Chanyue ji* 禪月集 (Chanyue collection) is based on *Chanyue ji jiaozhu* 禪月集校注 (Chanyue collection with corrections and notations) by Lu Yongfeng 陸永峰.[98] I collected several editions of *Chanyue ji* of

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[97] Jiaoran was a known poet before he became a monk in the year 747 at twenty-six according to Jia Jinhua. *JN*, 15. Cf. The notations in the biographical studies of Jiaoran in *TCZZ*, Jiaoran is thought to have become a monk after the age forty. *TCZZ*, 2: 187-94.

[98] Lu Yongfeng 陸永峰, *Chanyue ji jiaozhu* 禪月集校注 (Chanyue collection with corrections and notations) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2006). The base text of *Chanyue ji* is referred as *CYJ*.

which a Northern Song print of *Chanyue ji*,[99] photocopied and preserved in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Publications according to the four sections) is one of the earliest editions of *Chanyue ji* available today and was evaluated to be the base text of Guanxiu's poems. In the year 2006 Lu Yongfeng published his work *Chanyue ji jiaozhu* and also uses this edition as the base text. This new edition provides a primary textual correction and compares the base text with four other complete editions of *Chanyue ji* and the selected Guanxiu's poems in several poetry anthologies. Therefore I decide to use Lu Yongfeng's work to be the base text of Guanxiu's poems in this thesis. (See further textual details of *Chanyue ji* in the appendix 1 and 2.)

The text of Qiji's poems in *Bailian ji* 白蓮集 (White lotus collection) is based on a transcript of the private library Kongjuge 空居閣 of the Qing (1644-1912) scholars Feng Shu 馮舒 (*fl.c.*1602-1671)[100] and Feng Ban 馮班 (1602-1671).[101] The Qing scholar and book collector He Zhuo 何焯 (1661-1772) assessed this edition and judged the reliability of this transcript higher than other editions of *Bailian ji* such as Mao Jin's 毛晉 (1599-1659) publication of *Bailian ji* in *Tang san gaoseng shi* 唐三高僧詩 (Poetry of three Tang eminent monks).[102] The footnotes of Qiji's poems list the text location both in base text and *QTS* for the reader's convenience. (See further textual details of *Bailian ji* in the appendix 3 and 4.)

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[99] Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館, *Sibu congkan shulu* 四部叢刊書錄 (Catalogue with commentary of Publications according to the four sections) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), 319.

[100] Feng Shu was Feng Ban's brother. They were both important figures of the Yushan poetry school (*Yushan shi pai* 虞山詩派).

[101] The base text of *Bailian ji* is referred as *BLJ*. The biographies of Feng brothers can be found in Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, ed. *Zhongguo cangshu lou* 中國藏書樓 (A history of Chinese libraries) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 2001), 2: 1082-4.

[102] Wan Man 萬曼, *Tang ji xu lu* 唐集敘錄 (Annotation of the Tang poetry collections) (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1982), 360.

The geographical locations of the Tang in today's People's Republic of China are consulted *Liang Tang shi dili zhi huishi* 兩唐書地理志匯釋 (A compilation and notification of the geography records in the two standard Tang histories)[103] The translation of the official titles followed Charles O. Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China.*[104] The translation and explanation of the Buddhist terms follow William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous's *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.*[105]

Thesis structure

Chapter Two examines the historical background of early monk *shi* poetry and traces the Buddhist teachings on which the early poet-monks based their *shi* poetry writing. This chapter studies the questions of whether poet-monks should write poetry for religion and how the seemingly non-religious monk *shi* poetry could still serve a religious purpose. The relationship between the Buddhist clergy and Confucian orientated scholar-officials in the political structure is explored in order to understand what the poet-monks expected to achieve in society through poetry writing. The discussion of these issues also provide an explanation why there was a rise of poet-monks producing *shi* poetry from the Middle Tang.

Based on the discussions in Chapter Two, the studies in Chapters Three and Four

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[103] Wu Songdi 吳松弟, ed. *Liang Tang shi dili zhi huishi* 兩唐書地理志匯釋 (A compilation and notification of the geography records in the two standard Tang histories) (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002)

[104] Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985)

[105] William Edward Soothill, and Lewis Hodous, comp., *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 1937, 2004 reprint)

narrow the scope of monk *shi* poetry from generality to individuality and focus on two poet-monks, Guanxiu and Qiji. Chapters Three and Four form a case study closely investigating the poet-monks' individualistic perspectives to poetry writing which would be easily obscured in macroscopic view of monk *shi* poetry. The poet-monks wrote poetry not only in the social roles they represented but also as individuals, and their personal circumstances could have a significant influence on their poetry writing. In the case study I firstly review modern studies on the two poet-monks and their poetry, which follows a short biography of each poet-monk. From the review of the modern studies I derive several central questions to explore how Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry was related to socio-politics, their religious studies and contemporary literati poetry.

Chapter Five draws the conclusions of Chapters Two, Three and Four and answers the core questions asked in the Introduction, arguing that the function of monk *shi* poetry as external learning was to promote Buddhist monks' standing within the Chinese socio-political system and to secure the socio-political support that Buddhism needed to prosper in society. The function of external learning also influenced the characteristics of monk *shi* poetry. The poet-monks' *shi* poetry writing, nevertheless, was relevant to their religious studies, and their religious background offered them alternative materials and perspectives apart from literati poetry, thus monk *shi* poetry had its own contribution to the great *shi* poetic tradition. Finally, I examine what contribution this thesis can offer to the studies of monk *shi* poetry and the related research in the future.

Chapter Two: Monk Poetry as External Learning

This chapter will address these questions: firstly, which Buddhist teachings potentially motivated the rise of poet-monks? Secondly, what was the function of monk *shi* poetry? And thirdly, how did this function inspire the rise of poet-monks from the Middle Tang? I firstly explore in the section 2.1 the relationship between the development of monk *shi* poetry, monastic codes and Chan Buddhist teachings. Section 2.2 examines the Buddhist clergy's position in the socio-political structure and contextualises how monk *shi* poetry as external learning could function to promote Buddhism. Based on the discussions in 2.1 and 2.2, I reflect how a significant number of poet-monks were inspired to devote themselves to poetry writing from the Middle Tang. The section 2.4 summarise the points in the previous three sections.

2.1. Monastic Codes, Chan Buddhism and Monk *Shi* Poetry

Buddhist monks followed the monastic codes to direct all their conduct. During the fourth century, the emerging stage of monk *shi* poetry, many monastic codes had not been fully translated.[106] *Shi* poetry was a non-Buddhist study, and there was no relevant teaching in the monastic codes regarding monks' studying of non-Buddhist teachings until Kumārajīva (*Jiumoluoshi* 鳩摩羅什) (334-413) arrived in China in the year 401 and translated *Shisong lü*.[107] Buddhist monks writing *shi* poetry before the translation of *Shisong lü* were responsible themselves to justify if their poetry should

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[106] Wang Yonhui 王永會, *Zhongguo fojiao sengtuan fazhan ji qi guanli yanjiu* 中國佛教僧團發展及其管理研究 (A study of the development of Chinese sangha and its management) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2003), 19-23. This title is henceforth referred to as *ZFSY*.

[107] Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China, A Historical Survey* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), 68-9. See the teachings of external learning in *Shisong lü*, pp.19-20.

be relevant to religion. Monk *shi* poems in the fourth century, though few in number,[108] often showed a relevance to religion. An example, the poems *Yong ba ri shi san shou* 詠八日詩三首 (Three poems to praise the eighth day)[109] of Zhi Dun 支遁 (314-366) were written to praise Buddha's birthday on the eighth day of the fourth month.

2.1.1. Monastic codes and monk *shi* poetry

Kumārajīva made the first complete translation of a monastic code *Shisong lü* into Chinese at the beginning of the fifth century and provided a reference for the Buddhist monks to study non-Buddhist teachings (external learning). The Buddhists were allowed to study external learning on the ground that was to defend and promote Buddhism. The three hagiographies of the eminent monks recounted many monks learned in both external and internal learning and held a similar interpretation that external learning was allowed out of a need to prove Buddhism as a remedy to the shortcomings of Chinese learning.[110]

Shi poetry was Chinese culture learning and generally acknowledged by both the clergy and the secular to be external learning for the Buddhist monks. For instance, the poet-monk Qiji stated in his poem *Ji Ni Shu langzhong* 寄倪署郎中 (Sending [a poem] to Gentleman of the Interior Ni Shu) that "Among the woods, of the external

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[108] The poet-monks and their poems recorded in *XQHWNBCS* before Kumārajīva were one poem of Boddhacinga (*Fotucheng* 佛圖澄) (232-348), one poem of Daoan, two poems of Kang Sengyuan 康僧淵 (*fl.c.* 314-366), and eighteen poems of Zhi Dun 支遁 (314-366).

[109] *XQHWNBCS*, 2: 1078.

[110] John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 113.

learning I write *shi* poetry."[111] [林間外學我爲詩。] The literatus Zhang Ji 張籍 (768-830) also mentioned in the poem *Song Xian shi gui Jiangnan* 送閑師歸江南 (Seeing master Xian off to return to the South of Yangtze River) that a monk Xian was "studying the monastic code in many lives;[112] and has obtained poetic fame for his external learning."[113] [多生修律業，外學得詩名。] Poet-monks' *shi* poetry writing as external learning was done in the service of Buddhism as a tool to defend and promote Buddhism.

Before the political unity of China during the Sui dynasty (581-618), *Shisong lü* and a few other monastic codes were major codes observed in the regional monasteries. *Shisong lü* was popular in the territories of the southern dynasties; *Sifen lü* 四分律 (*Dharmagupta-vinaya*) was widely observed in the middle and lower parts of Yellow River; *Sengzhi lü* 僧祇律 (*Sāmghika-vinaya*) and *Wufeng lü* 五分律 (*Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*) were followed in the upper area of the Yellow River.[114] In comparison to other major monastic codes the significance of *Shisong lü* was that it allowed the monks to pursue external learning, but other monastic codes did not mention external learning.[115] Would observing a monastic code other than *Shisong lü* influence the monks' studying *shi* poetry? Table 2.1 below shows that indeed there were more Buddhist monks in the area observing *Shisong lü* than in those observing other monastic codes.

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[111] *BLJ, juan* 7: 57b; *QTS*, 12: 9551.

[112] The Buddhists believe reincarnations, and one could be reborn and live many lives.

[113] *QTS*, 6: 4313.

[114] Cao Shibang 曹仕邦, *Zhongguo shamen waixue de yanjiu: Han mo zhi Wudai* 中國沙門外學的研究—漢末至五代 (A study of the external learning in Chinese monasteries: from the end of the Han to Wudai) (Taipei: Dongchu chubanshe, 1994), 6-7.

[115] Ibid., 2-9.

Table 2.1, Major Disciplinary Observation and the Number of the Poet-Monks and Their Poems in the Southern and Northern Dynasties

Dynasties	Main Regions	Major Monastic Codes in Observation	Number of Pre-Sui Poet-Monks in *XQHWJNBCS*	Number of Pre-Sui Monk *shi* poems in *XQHWJNBCS*
The Southern Dynasties	South China	*Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Sarvastivada-vinaya*)	23	70
The Northern Dynasties	The middle and lower parts of Yellow River	*Sifen lü* 四分律 (*Dharmagupta-vinaya*)	6	10
	The upper area of Yellow River	*Sengzhi lü* 僧祇律 (*Sāmghika-vinaya*)		
	The upper area of Yellow River	*Wufeng lü* 五分律 (*Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*)		

Table 2.1 shows that the number of the pre-Sui poet-monks and their poems recorded in *XQHWJNBCS* are concentrated in southern China where *Shisong lü* prevailed. Among the six poet-monks in the northern China,[116] Kumārajīva observed *Shisong lü*.[117] The monks presumably observing *Shisong lü* were much more prolific than those presumably observing other monastic codes.

The data shown in Table 2.1 indicates two possible interpretations. Firstly, *Shisong lü* tolerated the monks' poetry writing, and therefore the poet-monks actively studied *shi* poetry. However, it should be noted that observing *Shisong lü* might not be

[116] Of the six northern poet-monks, three were of the Jin dynasty—Daoan, Boddhacinga and Kumārajīva—who did not pass Yangtze River to southern China when the Huns invaded northern China and captured the capital in the year 316. The other three poets were Wangming 亡名 (*fl.c.* 556-581), Wuming 無名(*fl.c.* 556-581) and monk Shang 尚 (法師) (*fl.c.* 556-581) of the Northern Zhou (556-581). The historical existence of these poet-monks was uncertain.

[117] See Kumārajīva's biography in *GSZ*, 331a.

the only reason that the poet-monks were more prolific in southern China. The secular scholars in the South also produced a higher amount of *shi* poetry than those in the North during the period of political disunion.[118] The production of monk *shi* poetry might be under the influence of the regional literary culture. After the political unity of China, the regional density of the poet-monks was not clear in *XQHWNBCS* and *QTS*. However, the Middle Tang poet-monks still mostly came from southern China,[119] possibly because the monasteries in southern China were more tolerant of studying non-Buddhist teachings.

Secondly, observing a monastic code that is silent about external learning might not encourage, if not forbid monks to study *shi* poetry. An incident recorded in *SGSZ* hints the possible conservative attitude about external learning of those observing a monastic code other than *Shisong lü*. Among the three major monastic codes observed in the North the monastic code *Sifen lü* gradually prevailed after the political unity under the Sui. The observation of *Sifen lü* in the northern monasteries spread to southern China, and the influence of *Shisong lü* in the South gradually waned. The disciplinary master Daoan 道岸 (654-717) persuaded the emperor Zhongzong (r. 705-710) in the year 709 to decree that the Buddhist monasteries should observe *Sifen lü*.[120] As a consequence, the superior status of *Sifen lü* over other monastic codes was officially asserted, and *Shisong lü* gradually lost its status in the disciplinary observation. An anecdote in *SGSZ* shows how increasing influence of *Sifen lü* might have on monks' poetry writing. A monk named Xuanyan 玄晏 (743-800), who lived

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[118] For instance, *XQHWNBCS* compiles 59 *juan* of poetry of the southern Song, Qi, Liang and Chen dynasties and 14 *juan* of poetry of the northern Wei, Qi and Zhou dynasties.

[119] See Liu Yuxi's comment, pp. 33-4.

[120] *SGSZ*, 793a.

during the Middle Tang in southern China,[121] was known to follow the monastic codes carefully. He did not dare to write *shi* poetry until he heard there was a monastic code allowing external learning which would be *Shisong lü*.[122] Xuanyan's initial ignorance of *Shisong lü* affirms that the observation of *Sifen lü* might surpass *Shisong lü* in the South; his earlier refusal to write poetry suggests that observing a monastic code silent about external learning did not encourage the monks to explore non-Buddhist teaching. The correlation in Table 2.1 and Xuanyan's individual example seem to suggest that observing *Shisong lü* was a positive influence for the Buddhist monks to study poetic art, and vice versa.

However, if the nature of the currently observed code was the major influence on the activity of poet-monks in writing *shi* poetry, this would suggest that with the rise of *Sifen lü*, poet-monks should decline. However, this was not the case. The dominant observation of *Sifen lü* did not stop a significant number of poet-monks emerging from the Middle Tang onwards. There should be incentives other than *Shisong lü* to inspire the rise of poet-monks.

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[121] *SGSZ*, 893a. Xuanyan was a native of Jiangxia 江夏 (in today's Hubei) in southern China, and he resided in the Kaiyuan 開元 temple in Ezhou 鄂州 (in today' Hubei). Both Jiangxia and Ezhou were of the Southern dynastic territories and supposed to be under the influence of *Shisong lü*.

[122] Ibid. *Shisong lü* was the only monastic code allowing external learning.

2.1.2. Chan Buddhism and monk *shi* poetry

Several modern studies argue the Southern Chan Buddhist teachings as a support as well as an inspiration for poet-monks' prolific poetry writing. For instance, Jiang Yin 蔣寅 believes that the rise of the poet-monks was closely related to the development of Southern Chan Buddhism:

> Lastly, I emphasise the natural compatibility of Chan [spirit] and poetry writing...This was the fundamental incentive for the rise of the poet-monks during the Dali period...Poetry writing was a form of expression, and Chan enlightenment was also a form of expression...The imagistic poetic language gradually became a major way of expression of one's enlightenment. During the Dali and Zhenyuan (785-805) periods, Chan Buddhism was getting influential and popular...The monks were becoming self-conscious in using poetry as a language tool not only to associate with the scholar-officials, but also to express Chan enlightenment experience and religious mentality...Therefore, essentially, I believe the emergence of the poet-monks is inseparable from the development of the Southern Chan Buddhism.
> 最後，這需要強調的一點是禪與詩天然的相容性……這是大歷詩僧產生的根本動因……詩是一種表現，禪也是一種表現……意象化的詩歌語言逐漸成爲證悟的主要表現手段。大歷貞元年間，正是禪宗蔚然大興之時……促使僧人日益自覺地利用詩歌這一語言工具，不僅將它作爲交際士大夫的交際手段、更將它做爲傳達禪悟體驗和宗教意識的表現手段來使用……所以，從根本上說，我認爲詩僧的出現是與禪學尤其是南宗禪的發展分不開的。[123]

From Jiang Yin's viewpoint, the Middle Tang poet-monks wrote poetry not only as a social means but also as an affirmation of one's religious enlightenment. Southern Chan Buddhism served a strong inspiration for the rise of the poet-monks.

How were the Chan Buddhist teachings compatible with poetry writing? Early Chan Buddhism held a deep distrust of language and its capacity to express the

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[123] Jiang Yin 蔣寅, *Dali shiren yanjiu* 大歷詩人研究 (A study of Dali poets) (Beijing: Zhonghuan shuju, 1995), 1: 330. This title is referred as *DSY* afterwards.

ultimate reality.[124] This attitude is traditionally exemplified in the story that Buddha, holding a flower and mystifying his disciples sitting around him, transmitted *Dharma* to Mahakasyapa,[125] who alone smiled and understood the meaning of Buddha's act, without a word—and Chan Buddhism was thus conceived. During the Tang the mistrust of language was replaced by the Chan school's adoption of the notion of Buddha nature (*Bhūtatathatā*, *zhenru* 真如), the ultimate reality and the absolute source of all phenomena in the universe, alongside with other Mahāyāna doctrines.[126] Because the ultimate reality (Buddha nature) permeates in all things and all phenomena, it also lies in every person. Therefore everyone has a potential to become a Buddha after shedding off one's ignorance in enlightenment, that is, to recognise the true and non-dual Buddha nature of all things and discard the conception of duality. A Chan practitioner was encouraged to form a liberating relationship with all things, open up to all things at all time and refrain from making anything for good or bad so as not to fall into the trap of duality. Therefore, the practice of reaching for enlightenment could be done anywhere, anytime and about anything. If everything, all phenomena, possessed Buddha nature and manifested it, words in speech or writings should be able to express the ultimate reality. Abandoning language absolutely is in fact a fall into dualism. To demonstrate one's enlightenment, Chan monks found the poetic language was a suitable means. Since the ultimate truth could not be plainly explicated, the imagery, symbol and figurative use innate of poetic language could

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[124] Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 195.

[125] See the explanation of *fayin* at the footnote 163.

[126] Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: the Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 129-31.

serve an indirect reference to one's enlightenment.[127] The act of writing poetry could also demonstrate Buddha nature and express one's spirituality.

Of the leading Middle Tang poet-monks, the religious experience of Jiaoran is often mentioned in modern studies to link the Southern Chan teaching to poet-monks' poetry writing. Jiaoran, secular name Xie Zhou 謝晝, was a distant descendent of the poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433).[128] According to his biography by Fulin, Jiaoran studied Chan Buddhism in the prime years after he became a monk. After many years of studying Chan Buddhism, Jiaoran became concerned that poetry was an inappropriate practice for a Chan Buddhist monk and stopped writing poetry during the early Zhenyuan 貞元 period (785-805).[129] In the year 789 Li Hong 李洪 (*fl.c.* 785-805), the new regional governor of Huzhou 湖州 (in today's Zhejiang), came to visit Jiaoran. At the beginning of their association Jiaoran discussed with Li Hong about Chan Buddhism. One day Jiaoran mentioned to Li Hong about his abandoned work *Shi shi* 詩式 (Poetry regulations) and his past enthusiasm for *shi* poetry. Li Hong insisted on reading *Shi shi* and was deeply impressed by Jiaoran's work. Li Hong convinced Jiaoran that it was an unworthy Hīnayāna interpretation to see poetry as an obstacle to the Chan practice; by contrast, Jiaoran's poetic fame could serve to spread the belief of Buddhism.[130] Jiaoran therefore resumed writing poetry.

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[127] Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, *Chan zong yuyan* 禪宗語言 (The Chan Language) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1999), 178-89.

[128] Fulin's biography of Jiaoran mentions that Jiaoran was a direct descendent of Xie Lingyun. *SGSZ*, 891c. According to Jia Jinhua, Jiaoran was not a direct descendent of Xie Lingyun, but a twelfth generation descendent of Xie An 謝安 (320-385). Xie Lingyun was a branch descendent of Xie An, so Jiaoran was a distant descendent of Xie Lingyun. *JN*, 3-7.

[129] Jia Jinhua 賈晉華, *Jiaoran nianpu* 皎然年譜 (A chronology of Jiaoran's life), 134-5

[130] Ibid.

Several of Jiaoran's poems mentioned that the poet-monk no longer viewed poetry writing as an inappropriate practice for a Chan monk. In the poem *Chou Cui shiyu jian zeng* 酬崔侍御見贈 (A reply to the poem Attendant Censor Cui has given to me) he said: "How does it interfere with the Way if one takes reclusion in the city? I do not abandon poetry when I practice meditation. I say this to you so to eradicate a doubt rooted in the Hīnayāna teachings." [市隱何妨道，禪棲不廢詩。與君爲此說，長破小乘疑。][131] The quoted lines indicate that Jiaoran treated his poetry as a spiritual demonstration. Jiaoran believed that true Chan spirituality lay in one's liberation from a blind observation of the monastic disciplines which was of the Hīnayāna teachings. Jiaoran's view echoes the notion of using language as mediation toward enlightenment in the Tang Chan practice.[132] Jiaoran wrote in another poem how he deliberately abandoned the conventional way of Buddhist studies as his spiritual demonstration:

Occasional compositions (4th of 5)	偶然 五首之四[133]
I dislike foreign language and do not learn it;	虜語嫌不學，
I never translate the outlandish words.	胡音從不翻。
I talk about Chan meditation and reverse what is right;	說禪顛倒是，
It is so much fun to the golden apes!	樂殺金王孫。

The first couplet shows that Jiaoran did not want to learn the foreign language (i.e. Sanskrit). Buddhism was from India, and early Buddhist masters were often known for their hard work in learning the foreign language and translating the sutras into Chinese. However, by the Middle Tang the accumulated translated texts and their

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[131] *QTS*, 12: 9182.

[132] Dale S. Wright, *Philosophical Meditations on Zen Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 65.

[133] *QTS*, 12: 9252.

extensive exegeses had become a tremendous workload for the Buddhists to study and could easily obscure their view of the spirituality expressed in the texts. Jiaoran's neglect of learning Sanskrit suggests that he did not see it necessary to trace the Buddhist teachings back to their Indian roots, and he meant to liberate himself from the learning of language which could be an obstacle instead of a means to convey spirituality. The unconventional playfulness expressed in the second couplet resonated with the unconventional rhetoric often found in the Chan dialogue records.[134] Jiaoran's deliberate departure from the normative practice of the Buddhist studies indicates an obvious Chan influence on his religious practice. The Chan Buddhist teachings reinforced the poet-monks' liberation from the religious topics in monk *shi* poetry, which could be a possible incentive for the rise of poet-monks.

Southern Chan Buddhist teachings might influence the characteristics of Jiaoran's poetry. However, it was doubtful that other Middle Tang poet-monks' poetry writing was affected as much by Southern Chan Buddhism. Although two of the Middle Tang poet-monks, Lingyi and Qingjiang, did receive Chan teachings,[135] their poetry did not show a strong Chan spirit like Jiaoran's. Moreover, the poet-monks' reception of Chan Buddhist teachings and their *shi* poetry writing could be two different matters. There was no evidence that the Middle Tang poet-monks started

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[134] Chan dialogue records (*gong'an* 公案) often exemplify how the Chan masters used an unconventional rhetoric or conduct to enlighten their disciples. Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, *Chan zong yuyan* 禪宗語言 (The Chan Language), 321-49.

[135] Two other leading Middle Tang poet-monks were mentioned in *SGSZ* to have received Chan Buddhist teachings. Lingyi studied the supreme reality (*di yi yi* 第一義) with a Chan monk called Yinkong Qianjing 隱空乾靖 (*fl.c.*726-762) while he stayed in Nanxuanliu 南懸溜 temple. *SGSZ*, 799a. Qingjiang met a state Monk Chief Zhong (*Zhong Guoshi* 忠國師) who taught the poet-monk not to constrain one's pursuit of spirituality totally within the observation of the Hīnayāna teachings. *SGSZ*, 802a.

writing poetry only after they received Chan teachings. The Late Tang poet-monk Guanxiu, for example, was from the Tiantai school and was already a prolific poet before he received the Chan teachings in his prime years.[136] The Middle Tang poet-monks could be similar cases. Therefore, both the popularity of Southern Chan Buddhism and the rise of poet-monks from the Middle Tang might be coincidental. Except for Jiaoran's poetry, the link between the Southern Chan teachings and other Middle Tang poet-monks' poetry was weak. Therefore, the Southern Chan teachings were doubtful to serve as a major incentive to the rise of poet-monks.

The discussion up to this point has analysed the relationship between the monastic codes, Southern Chan teachings and monk *shi* poetry. *Shisong lü* allowed Buddhist monks to write *shi* poetry as external learning, but other monastic codes were silent about external learning. The dwindling influence of *Shisong lü* from the eighth century did not stop the rise of poet-monks from the mid-eighth century (the Middle Tang). Southern Chan Buddhism encouraged the monks to liberate themselves from observing the monastic codes uncritically, and it believed that one could practise reaching enlightenment in all one's conduct. Monks' poetry writing therefore could be construed as a spiritual demonstration. However, apart from Jiaoran's poetry, there was no evidence that other Middle Tang poet-monks started writing poetry after receiving the Chan teachings, and their poetry did not express a strong Chan spirit, either. Therefore, the monks' disciplinary observation and Southern Chan Buddhism, though relevant to monk *shi* poetry, were not the major inspiration for the rise of poet-monks during the Middle Tang.

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[136] See the relevant discussion, pp.108-9.

Buddhism being a foreign religion naturally faced the cultural differences in Chinese society. The Buddhist clergy were concerned not only about spreading the Buddhist teachings but also about gaining acceptance and support in society. The survival of the Buddhist clergy might be even more important than the spread of the teachings, for the latter mission could not succeed without the clergy's continued acceptance in Chinese society. Monk *shi* poetry as external learning assisted the clergy to maintain their prosperity in society. The next section investigates how monk *shi* poetry as external learning could promote the development of the Buddhist clergy's position in Chinese socio-politics.

2.2. Monk *Shi* Poetry and the Buddhist Clergy in Chinese Society

When the Buddhist clergy was formed in China, it inherited its Indian notion of monastic management. "In India, the Buddhist *saṅgha* (clergy) considered itself to be a community beyond the authority of the secular rulers. It claimed to be an organization consisting of the members who had renounced the involvement and attachments of family, society and the state to live the religious life of the recluse. By joining the Buddhist clergy and undertaking the vows of celibacy, poverty, subsistence on alms and the cultivation of monastic discipline, the Buddhist monk no longer felt bound by the norms of political and social conduct that governed the lives of ordinary people."[137] However, Buddhism being a foreign religion in Chinese society needed support from the state government to prosper, or at least to avoid suppression.

The state and the scholar-officials had been the main supporters of the monasteries from the early stage of Chinese Buddhism, and their support remained

[137] Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, 65.

crucial to the prosperity of Buddhism. The early Buddhist master Daoan, for instance, was supported by several powerful officials in the Later Zhao (295-349). When the Later Zhao politics fell into chaos after the king Shi Hu 石虎 (295-349) died, Daoan led his several hundred followers towards southern China without support by any official. Realising the difficulties of keeping a Buddhist community independently, Daoan said at last, "The Buddhist affairs could not be established without support of a state ruler." [不依國主，法事難立。][138] Daoan then turned to other regional officials for support again.

The Buddhist clergy in the political structure

In addition to the difficulties of keeping a Buddhist community independent, the dynastic governments exerted constant pressure on the monasteries to effect their subordination to the imperial government. The Chinese imperial administration was supported by Confucian thinking which held that the emperor was the rightful ruler as the embodiment of Heaven, and all people in his reign should render their homage and loyalty to him.[139] A Buddhist clergy as an organisation independent from the emperor's ruling was an alien thought in Chinese society.

During the political disunion period, Buddhist clergy in southern China tended to resist the state's claim to authority. The Buddhist masters countered the pressures with persuasive memoirs explaining that monks had taken the unworldly path, and therefore they did not bind themselves to the secular customs. One of the most famous cases was Huiyuan's treatise *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* 沙門不敬王者論 (*A treatise on the monk not paying homage to the ruler*)[140] at the beginning of the fifth century. In

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[138] *GSZ*, 352a.

[139] Idema, *A Guide to Chinese Literature*, 37-41.

[140] *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (Hongming collection), *T*, 52: 29c-30b.

this treatise Huiyuan stated that the Buddhist monk had terminated his connections to the family and society by his entrance into the clergy. Huiyuan's argument set the tone of the relationship between the Buddhist clergy and the government of the Southern dynasties, though such arrangement was not without criticism from the secular scholars.[141]

The government of the Northern dynasties, however, never allowed the Buddhist monks to think of themselves other than state subjects. As the size of the clergy grew rapidly from the fourth century onwards, beginning with the king Yao Xing 姚興 (366-416) of the Latter Qin (384-417),[142] the state sought to control the monasteries and established a monk-official (*sengguan* 僧官) system to manage the growing Buddhist communities within the socio-political structure. Other states followed Yao Xing's examples, and the monk-official system became more complex as the subsequent dynastic governments enhanced their management of the monasteries. By the Tang the monk-official system was set up from the central level to the local prefectures and the state sponsored temples and monasteries. The lowest monk-official posts in a monastery consisted of three posts—*shangzuo* 上座 (*sthavira*; superior seat), *sizhu* 寺主 (*vihārasvāmin*; temple master) and *weina* 維那 (*Karmadāna*; general affair manager), and the three posts together were called *sangang* 三綱 (three bonds) and were appointed by the ruler or the responsible local officials.[143] The titles, duties and the hierarchy of the three posts were not fixed and

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[141] Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, 61-124.

[142] *ZFSY*, 49-50. Cf. Charles O. Hucker, *China's Imperial Past: An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 217.

[143] Zhanru studies the monastic codes and monastic structure of the Dunhuang scripts and details the duties of *sangang* in Zhanru 湛如, *Dunhuang fojiao lüyi zhidu yanjiu* 敦煌佛教律儀制度研究 (Dunhuang Buddhist Disciplinary and Ritual Institution) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 40-55.

changed in different dynasties, but *sangang* was the basic structure of each level of the monk-official system.[144] When the Sui state from the North united China and imposed its political structure over the country, the Buddhist clergy in the South also integrated into the state institutions and were placed under the state control.

During the Tang period the government furthered its political control of monastic management. The state forbade private ordination and set up a procedure to select those who wished to join the clergy: one had to enter a monastery, follow a master to study the Buddhist teachings for a certain period of time, pass an examination set up by the state to prove one's knowledge of Buddhism and then was allowed to receive ordination to join the clergy.[145] The state decided the number of ordinations and issued the certificates of ordination to the monks. The state also restricted the itinerancies of the monks who must be approved by the local officials before they leave the prefecture. [146] Although the Buddhist monasteries expanded despite political restrictions, state tolerance was nevertheless crucial to the prosperity of the Buddhist communities. The suppression of Buddhism during the reign of Wuzong (r. 840-846) involved confiscating millions of acres of monastery-owned farmland, destroyed more than 4,600 Buddhist temples and shrines and 40,000 chapels and hermitages, defrocked 260,500 monks and nuns, and returned 150,000 tax-exempt bondsmen to tax registers.[147] Some Buddhist schools flourishing before the suppression such as the Tiantai school never recovered from the destruction of the scriptures and

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[144] *ZFSY*, 95-97.

[145] *ZFSY*, 106.

[146] Ibid.

[147] See the discussion of the suppression in Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (Canbridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 114-44, the data detail at the page 134.

commentaries.[148]

The establishment of the monk-official system effectively transformed the Buddhist clergy on both the communal and individualistic levels. The Buddhist clergy switched from an assumed independence to a state-dependent organisation. Individual monks had a prospect to enter officialdom and to become involved with state management even though their responsibilities might be limited to religious affairs. The next two sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 analyse how monk *shi* poetry as external learning assisted the clergy to maintain their relationship with the literati and the individual monks to pursue their ambitions.

2.2.1. The function of external learning

Buddhism seemed to be on an equal position with other teachings, as it was suggested in the *sanjiao* 三教 (three teachings)—Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist—debates were held in the Tang court, and all teachings competed for the state patronage.[149] However, the equality between the three teachings was superficial. Unlike the examination system set up for the recruitment of scholar-officials from the Sui, a selective procedure was not formed to recruit monk-officials. In theory the emperor and the head of the prefectures should appoint the monks based on established virtues and knowledge of Buddhism,[150] but as there was no objective assessment of virtues and knowledge, the appointment of monk-officials largely relied on the subjective opinion of those in charge. The government administrators were essentially dominated by the officials followed the Confucian canon teachings.

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[148] Ibid., 144-50.

[149] *TCO*, 18.

[150] *JTS*, 6:1830.

Therefore, the relationship between Buddhists and secular scholars was not an equal one.

With state and scholar-officials' support at stake, it was not surprising that the Buddhist clergy was keen on keeping a good relationship with the officials, be it for communal benefit or personal ambition. For this purpose external learning had proven an effective way to initiate a friendly contact. The three hagiographies of the eminent monks provided various examples how the monks' external learning could win the admiration of the secular scholars, attract them to the faith and gain their support for Buddhism. An incident recorded in the biography of monk Huifen 慧芬 (407-485)[151] in *GSZ* serves as an example: Yuan Minsun 袁潛孫 (*fl.c.* 466-472),[152] who was Palace Aide to the Censor-in-Chief during the Eastern Jin (317-420), looked down on the Buddhist monks. He thought the monks' knowledge narrow and did not consider it worthwhile to talk with them. To prove his opinion about the Buddhist clergy, he invited a monk who happened to be Huifen to his home and tested how broad Huifen's knowledge was. Yuan Minsun spent a whole day questioning Huifen about the teachings of Buddhism firstly and then of Laozi, Zhuangzi, Confucius and Mozi. According to the biography of Huifen, Yuan Minsun could not defeat Huifen with his questions and finally gave in. Yuan Minsun henceforth honoured Huifen to be his teacher and commanded the junior family members to receive ordination from Huifen. The reliability of this account is not certain, but Huifen's story exhibits the general view of the hagiographies that external learning could serve to withstand the attacks as well as attract the admiration of the secular intellectuals.

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[151] See the story from the biography of monk Huifen in *GSZ*, 416b.

[152] Yuan Minsun was Left Aide of Minister of Education during the Song Mingdi's reign (r. 466-472).

Monk *shi* poetry as external learning provided a convenient platform allowing the monks and the secular literati to interact. If the monks' poetry writing could not inspire the literati's interest for Buddhism, it could at least help the monks maintain a peaceful relationship with the literati. The association of monk Wenchang 文暢(*fl.c.* 800) with Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) can be an example. Monk Wenchang was a friend of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) and fond of literary writing. Upon Wenchang's embarkment on a tour to south-eastern China, Liu Zongyuan advised Wenchang that he should visit the renowned literati and asked their opinions about his poetry,[153] and Liu recommended Wenchang to all his friends including Han Yu, who was well known for his hostile attitude towards Buddhism. Han Yu received Wenchang on Liu Zongyuan's recommendation. Later, he wrote *Song futu Wenchang shi xu* 送浮屠文暢師序 (Preface to Seeing off the Buddhist master Wenchang) expressing appreciation of Wenchang's interest in literary writing:

> The Buddhist master Wenchang is fond of literary writing. He had travelled around the world and would visit the local distinguished scholars wherever he went and asked of them to recite poems to express their thoughts. In the spring of the nineteenth year of the Zhenyuan period (803), he was about to travel to the South-East. Liu Zongyuan asked [other scholars] to assist the monk Wenchang. Wenchang unpacked his luggage and showed me more than a hundred poems he had obtained. If he does not like *shi* poetry very much, how could he collect so many poems? I feel it a pity that none among these scholars told the monk about the Way of the [Confucian] sages but only mentioned the Buddhist teachings in their poems to the monk. Wenchang is a Buddhist monk. If he intends to learn the Buddhist teachings, he should ask it of his master. Why would he visit us Confucian scholars and ask about Buddhism? He sees the virtues of our teachings about the ruler and the vessel, the father and the son, and how the culture flourishes because of the Confucian teachings. In his mind he had admiration for [the Confucian

[153] Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元, "*Song Wenchang shangren deng Wutai sui you Heshuo xu* 送文暢上人登五台遂遊河朔序 (Preface to Monk Wenchang visiting Mt. Wutai and afterwards traveling to the He Shuo region)," in *Liu Hedong ji* 柳河東集 (Liu Zongyuan collection), 2:422-3 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1974).

> teachings]; but he is restricted by his dharma laws and not yet able to participate [practicing them.] Therefore he is happy to learn the [Confucian] teachings and asked poetry [from Confucian scholars]...I received Liu Zongyuan's request seriously and am also glad that the monk is fond of literary writing. Therefore I talk to him.
> 浮屠師文暢喜文章，其周遊天下，凡有行必請于縉紳先生，以求詠歌其所志。貞元十九年春，將行東南；柳君宗元爲之請。解其裝，得所得敘詩，累百餘篇，非至篤好，其何能致多如是耶？惜其無以聖人之道告之者，而徒舉浮屠之說贈焉。夫文暢，浮屠也。如欲聞浮屠之說，當自就其師而問之，何故謁吾徒而來請也？彼見吾君臣父子之懿，文物事爲之盛，其心有慕焉，拘其法而未能入，故樂聞其說而請之……余既重柳請，又加浮屠能喜文辭，於是乎言。[154]

The ending of the quoted passage shows that Han Yu received Wenchang firstly on account of Liu Zongyuan's recommendation and then on Wenchang's genuine fondness of *shi* poetry. From the Middle Tang onwards, there was a trend among Confucian scholars to regard the *shi* 士 culture learning exclusively belonging to the Confucian scholars,[155] and Han Yu was a representative scholar of such trend. To Han Yu, *shi* poetry was certainly a Confucian study. Therefore, Han Yu treated Wenchang's request of other scholars' poetry as a sign of the monk's interest to learn the Confucian teachings. Han Yu refused to relate *shi* poetry to Buddhism and spoke only about the Confucian teachings to Wenchang. It is clear that Han Yu's acceptance of Wenchang built primarily on Wenchang's study of *shi* poetry, namely, his external learning. External learning was the common ground for monk Wenchang and Han Yu to interact. In Huifen's study, as already discussed previously, the monk's profound knowledge in secular scholarship even effectively turned an intellectual opponent into a supporter of Buddhism. In Wenchang's story, *shi* poetry as external learning assisted Wenchang to maintain a friendly or at least peaceful relationship with the secular scholars.

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[154] Han Yu 韓愈, *Han Changli quan ji* 韓昌黎全集 (Han Yu's complete collection) (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1991), 285-6.

[155] *TCO*, 123-47.

Another similar example is seen in the preface *Yan shangren shi ji xu* 顏上人詩集序 (Preface of monk Yan's poetry collection) of Yan Yao 顏蘨 (*fl.c.* 888-904)[156] for the poetry collection of the Late Tang monk Shangyan 尚顏 (c. b. 843-c. 933):[157]

> Master Shangyan's family name is Xue, and his literary name is Maosheng. He has been good at writing five-characters poetry since his youth. Heaven favours him with the gift of writing poetry, and his poems surpass those of many famous poets. The literatus Xue of my age, the former military commissioner in Xuzhou and Imperial Secretary, his literary name is Dazhuo.[158] In terms of prose composition, people do not talk about his name. In terms of poetry, he was known to the world, and his poetry is great in comparison to other poets. Only to master Shangyan, he allows himself to praise the excellence of his poetry. Whenever he recited the good lines, he said, "I do not like master Shangyan to be a Buddhist monk. However I think it good to have a poet-monk in the family, which gives honour to the Xue clan." Master Shangyan's personality is upright, quiet and extraordinary. His worth and fame is self-illuminating. Renowned and great people are eager to meet him. During the Jingfu period (892-893), I served as Secretarial Court Gentleman in the court. The former Counsellor-in-chief Lu Xisheng was Palace Steward. One day he said to me, "Master Shangyan from Jingmen happily came to visit me. He left with satisfaction of the visit. I do not have a poem to give for his departure. I ask my good friend to recite a poem as a gift to see him off." I agreed and did the bidding, but I did not see master Shangyan...Now I write a preface to master Shangyan's poetry collection. There are four hundred five- and seven-characters poems which are an illumination of the Confucian and Buddhist teachings. It is almost ten years since my association with master Shangyan. At the beginning I admired him as a great Buddhist, and now I am his secular friend.
>
> 顏公姓薛氏，字茂聖。少工爲五言詩，天賦其才，迥超名輩。蘨同年文人故許州節度使尚書薛公字大拙，以文，人不言其名，擅詩，名於天下，無所與讓。唯於顏公，許待優異。每吟其警句，常曰：「吾不喜顏爲僧，嘉有詩僧爲吾枝派，以增薛

[156] Yan Yao served as a Secretariat Drafter during the Zhaozong's reign (r. 888-904).

[157] The note under Qiji's poem *Ji Shangyan* 寄尚顏 (Sending [a poem] to Shangyan) indicated that Shangyan was admired by an Imperial Secretary Xue, and it agrees with Yan Yao's preface. Therefore monk Yan should be Shangyan who lived about the same time as Qiji (864-c. 943).

[158] Xue Neng 薛能 passed the *jinshi* examination and became a Presented Scholar in the year (846). He served on several high official posts in the court from the late Dazhong 大中 period (847-860) to the mid Xiantong period (860-874) and was demoted to the post Regional Inspector in the rural prefectures.

> 氏之榮耳。」性端靜寡合，而價譽自彰。名公鉅人，爭識其面。余景福間爲尚書郎，故相國陸希聲爲給事中。一日謂余曰：「顏公自荊門惠然訪我，興盡而去。無以贈其行，請於知交賦送別。」余亦勉爲應命，而莫之披睹也。……今且掇師之序於詩集之前，其五言七字詩凡四百篇，以爲儒釋之光。余與師周旋殆將十稔，始仰師爲師家之傑，今與師爲方外之期。[159]

This preface of the poet-monk Shangyan's work mentions two important things: Firstly, the preface explains that Shangyan's good poetry enabled him to be welcome among the social elites. The poet-monks' Buddhist identity was not well regarded by some Confucian scholars. The scholar-official Xue did not like Shangyan being a Buddhist monk, but he was glad that he was a poet. Secondly, Yan Yao describes Shangyan's poetry as "*ru shi zhi guang*" 儒釋之光 (the glory of Confucianism and Buddhism). *Shi* poetry was regarded by Yan Yao as a Confucian study. Shangyan being a Buddhist monk would naturally be knowledgeable about the Buddhist teaching. Therefore Shangyan's *shi* poetry—a Confucian art mastered by a Buddhist monk—was glory of Confucianism and Buddhism. The poet-monk should receive deserving respect for his poetry writing. This is the same attitude that Han Yu had towards the monk Wenchang. If Wenchang was interested in *shi* poetry, a Confucian study, then Wenchang deserved the Confucian scholars' attention.

Zanning, the author of *SGSZ*, was another monk well-acquainted with the cultural advantage of mastering literary writing. Albert Welter examined the life of Zanning as a Buddhist master serving in the Song court and how his knowledge in external learning could win the acceptance of the scholar-official Wang Yucheng 王禹稱 (954-1001), who regarded Buddhism a menace to society:

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[159] Xiao Zhanpeng 蕭占鵬, *Sui Tang Wudai wenyi lilun huibian ping zhu* 隋唐五代文藝理論匯編評注 (Compiled literary theories of the Sui, Tang and Wudai periods with commentaries and notations) (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2002), 1236-7.

> Zanning's closest associate among the literati was Wang Yucheng (954-1001)...Wang Yucheng's preface [to Zanning collected works (*wenji*)] suggests he was far more impressed with Zanning's skills as a *wen* master than he was deterred by his Buddhist affiliation...In spite of Wang's and other *guwen* sholars' personal distaste for Buddhism and their opinion that the Buddhist clergy posed a menace to society, imperial policy made clear that the Buddhist presence was to be tolerated, if not openly affirmed, as a legitimate feature of Song culture....It was feasible in this atmosphere for critics of Buddhism to accept, even admire, Buddhists with strong *wen* (文 literature) qualifications. While openly acknowledge Zanning's Buddhist affiliation, Wang's preface avoids the complicated issues that this affiliation might raise by identifying Zanning as a *wen* master who incidentally happened to be Buddhist. The portrayal suggests a criterion by which Buddhism might find acceptance, even in the eyes of its critics.[160]

Albert Welter's analysis shows that external learning presented the common values the literati could share with the Buddhist monks and enabled the monks to obtain acceptance even among the scholar-officials most unfriendly towards Buddhism.

Moreover, the value of external learning was higher than keeping a friendly relationship with the literati. Wang Yucheng acknowledged Zanning as a *wen* 文 (culture/literature) master; in the studies of literary writing, Zanning was his equal. Poetry writing as a symbol of secular scholarship allowed the poet-monks to attain an equal cultural standing with secular scholars. We return to the monk Wenchang's association with the literati. Wenchang was introduced to Han Yu by Liu Zongyuan,[161] for Liu Zongyuan encouraged Wenchang to meet the secular scholars in his travels. Liu Zongyuan wrote in the preface *Song Wenchang shangren deng Wutai sui you He Shuo xu* 送文暢上人登五台遂遊河朔序 (Preface to Seeing off monk Wenchang visiting Mt. Wutai and afterwards travelling to the He Shuo region) that his monk

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[160] Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 165-8.

[161] See the relevant discussion, pp. 68-9.

friend Wenchang's poetry served a purpose more than just for religion:

> In the past the head disciples of the Buddhist clergy liked to associate with the virtuous scholar-officials...Since then the True Vehicle[162] and the Seal of Buddha-Truth[163] have been used together with the Confucian canons, and the people have known about this and been attracted to such practice...At the present time, between the areas of the Yan, Wei and Zhao states,[164] the literary Confucian scholars are recruited to embellish the political orders in order to follow and realize the teachings of the [Confucian] sages. There are many among the recruited scholars who respect and treat the Buddhist monks well. Your [monk Wenchang] trip to those areas will unite the Confucian and Buddhist teachings, spread and purify the doubts and confusions. But you will refuse the presents of clothes and not care for the donated money. Those who are coming to you, why not ask them also for advice of your poetry so as to show your profound works? The works of Xu Gan and Ying Yang, how can they be the only valuable works for a thousand years! Perhaps you want to steal the post of observing the recited airs (*feng* poetry) to know the intentions of the Zheng Princes.[165]
> 昔之桑門上首，好與賢士大夫游……由是真乘法印與儒典並用，而人知嚮方……今燕魏趙之間，辟用文儒之士，以緣飾政令，服勤聖人之教，尊禮浮屠之事者，比比有焉。上人之往也，將統合儒釋，宣滌疑滯，然後蔑衣裓之贈，委財施之會不顧矣。其來也，盍亦徵其歌詩，以焜耀迴蹟，偉長德璉[166]之述作，豈擅重千祀哉！庶

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[162] *Zhengsheng* 真乘 (True Vehicle) means the true Buddhist teaching or doctrine.

[163] *Fayin* 法印 (the seal of Buddha-Truth) is an expression of the universal and immutable reality which can be transmitted from one Buddhist master to another practitioner.

[164] Wenchang was going to the Mt. Wutai 五臺 (in today's Shanxi) and afterwards visiting the He Shuo 河朔 (the general area north to the Yellow River, including today's Shanxi, Hebei and Henan area.) The Yan, Wei and Zhao states during the Warring States period (453-221 BC) were roughly located in the Heshuo area.

[165] *Feng* 風 poetry was one of the three forms of poetry in *Shi jing* comprising folksongs of different states. The Confucians believed that the folksongs conveyed the general temperament of the people about the governance. *Zheng zhi* 鄭志 (the intent of the Zheng Princes) is an allusion deriving from *Zuozhuang* 左傳 (*Spring and Autumn annals, Zuo's tradition*). The Jin 晉 (?-403 BC) official Zhao Dun 趙盾 (c.653-601 BC), who was usually called *Zhao Meng* 趙孟, visited the Zheng 鄭 (806-375 BC) state. Zhao Dun asked the seven Princes to recite a poem from *Shi jing* to express their thoughts so as to judge their political capacities. *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Notated Spring and Autumn annals, Zuo's tradition) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 647b-8a.

[166] Weichang 偉長 was the literary name of Xu Gan 徐幹 (171-218) who was a literate scholar and refused the governmental service. Delian 德璉 was the literary name of Ying Yang 應瑒 (d. 217) who was also renowned for his literary talent and served under Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220).

欲竊觀風之職而知鄭志耳。[167]

In this passage Liu Zongyuan advised Wenchang that he should show his poetry to those who came to him and let the readers know the quality of his works. In Liu Zongyuan's opinion, Wenchang could "unite the Confucian and Buddhist teachings and clarify the doubts and confusions." [統合儒釋，宣滌疑滯。] Liu Zongyuan did not explain how Wenchang could unite the Confucian and Buddhist teachings, but he contextualized Wenchang's association with the literati in the former Buddhist masters' interactions with the scholar-officials and their legacy to study the Buddhist and Confucian teachings together. Wenchang as a Buddhist monk studying *shi* poetry like a secular scholar demonstrated that the Buddhist and Confucian teachings were compatible with each other. Liu Zongyuan further compared Wenchang to the renowned literati Xu Gan 徐幹 (171-218) and Ying Yang 應瑒 (d. 217) to show his high regard of Wenchang's poetry. When Wenchang visited the literati, he would ask poems of them.[168] Liu Zongyuan suspected that Wenchang wanted to know the political intention of scholars from their poems like Zhao Dun 趙盾 (c.653-601 BC) asked the Princes of the Zheng state to recite poetry. Wenchang's writing skill and enthusiasm for poetry writing led Liu Zongyuan to believe that the poet-monk could satisfy and promote both the Buddhist and Confucian teachings and even to continue the *shi* tradition of canon scholarship. On the ground of external learning Wenchang could therefore claim an equal standing to the secular scholars.

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[167] Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元, "*Song Wenchang shangren deng Wutai sui you Heshuo xu* 送文暢上人登五台遂遊河朔序 (Preface to Monk Wenchang visiting Mt. Wutai and afterwards traveling to the He Shuo region)" in *Liu Hedong ji* 柳河東集 (Liu Zongyuan collection), 2:422-3 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1974). The He Shuo region refers to the north of Yellow River, often an implication to the area near the capital Chang'an.

[168] See the previous quoted passage of Han Yu, pp. 68-9.

This section analyses how external learning served a means for Buddhist monks to interact with the literati. Monk *shi* poetry as external learning assisted the clergy to gain support of the literati for Buddhism as well as maintain a peaceful relationship with those unfriendly with Buddhists. Moreover, as external learning was the common ground between Buddhists and Confucians, the poet-monks' expertise in *shi* poetry allowed them to attain an equal standing with the literati in scholarship.

2.2.2. Monk *shi* poetry and the prospect of monk-officialdom

The monk-official system allowed for the prospect of officialdom for the learned monks. However, the appointment of the monk-officials largely relied on the subjective decision of the scholar-officials in charge. The monks' connections were therefore influential in the appointment of monk-officials. This point is illustrated by some records in the three hagiographies of the eminent monks which show how some monks were appointed to official posts. For instance, monk Sengruo 僧若 (*fl.c.* 502-557) resided in Huqiu 虎丘 (in today's Jiangsu) and was said to be "seldom seen among the secular people."[169] [簡出人世] When the official Wang Bin 王斌 (*fl.c.* 502-557) was guarding Wu Prefecture (also in today's Jiangsu), Sengruo was regularly invited to Wang Bin's Buddhist assembly. Wang Bin was very impressed by Sengruo's high morals and appointed Sengruo to be the Prefecture Monk-Chief. Sengruo may be a virtuous monk, but his virtue would not have been known to Wang Bin were he not attending the Buddhist assembly and made personal contact with Wang Bin. The account of Sengruo suggests that the monks' connections were of a major influence on the appointment of monk-officials.

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[169] *XGSZ*, 460c.

Shi poetry writing as external learning gave the poet-monks opportunities to meet the scholar-officials. The Middle Tang scholar-official Yao He described in the poem *Song Wuke shangren you Yue* 送無可上人遊越 (Seeing monk Wuke off to travel to the Yue region) how he met the poet-monk Wuke 無可 (*fl.c.* 779-843), and how Wuke became a friend of Yao He because of their common interest in poetry:

Seeing monk Wuke off to travel to the Yue region	送無可上人遊越[170]
In the early morning you visit me and stand in front of the door;	清晨相訪立門前，
A young man in hemp shoes and square robe.	麻履方袍一少年。
You are lazy about studying the sutras but seek to become Buddha;	嬾讀經文求作佛，
You prefer studying poetry and hope to become immortal.	願攻詩句覓昇仙。
In the lovely spring, in the shadow of the mountains, the flowers line up to the temple;	芳春山影花連寺，
At the solitary night, hearing the sounds of the tide, moonlight fills the boat.	獨夜潮聲月滿船。
At the seeing off today, I am particularly sorry to part with you;	今日送行偏惜別，
I have a [Buddhist] connection with you in [literary] writing.	共師文字有因緣。

The first couplet describes that Wuke visits Yao He on an early morning. The second couplet points out the reason of Wuke's visit to Yao He—Wuke wanted to study poetry writing from Yao He. In the last couplet, Yao He is sorry to part with Wuke and explicitly mentions that their friendship is formed under their common interest in literary writing. However, Yao He mentioned their common interest with a slight twist of humour in the last line. *Yinyuan* 因緣 (cause) is a Buddhist term, meaning a cause of any event. Through the exchanges of literary works between Yao He and Wuke, they could not only discussed literary writing but also religious issues. Therefore their common interest was also a religious connection.

Some poet-monks actively sought to promote their social standing through

[170] *QTS*, 8: 6523.

poetry writing. The Middle Tang poet-monk Huguo's poem to Commandant-Escort Zhang is such an example:

Presenting Commandant-escort Zhang with a marked-bamboo staff	贈張駙馬斑竹柱杖[171]
This staff had been with me at Yunxi,[172]	此君與我在雲溪，
With strong knots and extraordinary patterns it is better than the pigweed staff.	勁節奇文勝杖藜。
Because of the cold winter at the end of year	爲有歲寒堪贈遠，
it is fitting to give someone going afar;	
On the jade stairs where you walk I wish you take it for support.	玉階行處願提攜。

Huguo gave Commandant-Escort Zhang a marked-bamboo staff as a present, and this poem is likely to have been given along with the present. The first couplet describes that the staff was a nostalgic and valuable staff to the poet. The second couplet on the surface means to give it to Commandant-Escort Zhang as a present, but the last line is a double-entendre: Commandant-Escort is the husband of a princess, a royalty with connections to the court. The jade stairs usually refers to the stairs of the palace, namely the court in the capital. The verb *tixi* 提攜 (to support) in the poem literally means to take the staff for walking, but it is also a verb meaning to help someone advance in their career. As the present was a nostalgic personal item, Huguo would probably have hoped it reminds Commandant-Escort Zhang of him and that he would be like the staff eventually to be in service in the court. Therefore, the deeper meaning of this poem suggests that Huguo recommended himself to Commandant-Escort Zhang and expressed his wish of serving in the court through this poem.

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[171] *QTS*, 12 : 9140. The spots on *banzhu* 斑竹 (marked bamboo) is said to be the marks of the tears of two wives Ehuang 娥皇 and Nüying 女英 of the sage king Shun 舜 when they mourned for their husband's death.

[172] Yunxi 雲溪 is a place in today's Hunan province.

Shi poetry as external learning could also assist the poet-monks directly in pursuing an official career. For example, monk Kezhi 可止 (*fl.c.* 889-904) presented a poem to the emperor Tang Zhaozong 唐昭宗 (r. 889-904) and was subsequently granted the honourary purple robe and appointed to serve in the court.[173] In another example, the poet-monk Guanxiu wrote a poem to the Military Commissioner Wang Jian 王建 (847-918), the founder of the Former Shu 前蜀 (907-925). This poem was well received by Wang Jian, and Guanxiu was soon appointed to be the Monk-Chief in Wang Jian's court.[174] These examples show that monk *shi* poetry as external learning played an important role to recommend the monks' virtues and knowledge for an official appointment.

Although personal ambitions might have been a significant drive for some poet-monks to write poetry, as long as they remained in the Buddhist clergy their poetry could benefit communally and personally. Therefore, the Buddhist clergy tolerated individual monks pursuing their personal ambitions through external learning, for their achievement eventually was inextricably linked to the welfare of the Buddhist communities.

Monk poetry as an artistic self-expression

Although monk *shi* poetry as external learning was linked to the appointment of monk-officials, it does not mean that all poet-monks wrote poetry only in the service of their career ambition. There were also poet-monks writing poetry as a purely personal interest without aiming for recognition for this interest. The Late Tang monk Hengchao 恒超 (877-949) was famed for his poetry at the age of fifteen when he was

[173] *SGSZ*, 748a.

[174] *SGSZ*, 897a.

still a layman. He continued to write poetry after becoming a monk.[175] He resided in Wuli 無棣 (in today's Shandong). One day he responded to a question about *yinming* 因明 (*Hetuvidyā*; logical reasoning) with a brilliant poem of his own. Impressed, Commandery Governor Li wanted to recommend Hengchao for an honourary purple robe. Upon hearing about this, Hengchao was shocked and immediately wrote another poem to the Commandery Governor to decline such honour. Hengchao's poem was meant purely for social communication, as a tool to illuminate Buddhist teaching. Nevertheless his poetry brought him fame and respect from the literati.

The poet-monks engaged in writing *shi* poetry from the Middle Tang onwards were mostly serious about poetic art. They wrote poetry out of an ambition to establish themselves in the greater poetry tradition as an end in itself. The poet-monk Qiji explicitly expressed his wish to be a recognised poet and left his name next to other great poets. Qiji revealed his wish in the second poem of *Ji Nanxu Liu yuanwai er shou* 寄南徐劉員外二首 (Sending two poems to Supernumerary Liu of Nanxu):

Sending two poems to Supernumerary Liu of Nanxu[176] (2nd of 2)	寄南徐劉員外二首 之二
Master Jiaoran commented on various compositions;[177]	晝公評衆製，
Vice Director of the Palace Library Yao He selected the poems.[178]	姚監選諸文。
Who will select my poems?	風雅誰收我，
Only you would make couplets with me.	編聯獨有君。
For the rest of my life I will pursue this study;	餘生終此道，

[175] *SGSZ*, 749a.

[176] *BLJ*, *juan* 4: 97b-8a; *QTS*, 12: 9500.

[177] Jiaoran's literary name is *Zhou* 晝, and people often called him Zhou Gong 晝公 (master Zhou). See relevant discussion, p. 58.

[178] Yao He retired as *mishujian* 秘書監 (Vice Director of the Palace Library). See relevant discussion, pp. 34-5.

Ten thousands of other things are all floating clouds.	萬事盡浮雲。
If we can meet and hold our hands again,	爭得重攜手，
And seek out the reclusive places along the Chu river.	探幽楚水濱。

The first couplet refers to two important poetry critics during the Tang period: the poet-monk Jiaoran wrote *Shi shi* and commented on the poems of distinguished poets before the Middle Tang; Yao He selected a hundred Tang poems at the (in his opinion) best, including the works of several poet-monks, in *Jixuan ji*. Jiaoran's example shows that a poet-monk could be a fair judge of poetic art. The inclusion of monk *shi* poetry in *Jixuan ji* indicates that the works of some poet-monks were judged comparable to those of the selected literati poets. The poet-monks' achievements in poetic art could be as great as those of the secular poets. In the second couplet Qiji shows his curiosity about who would select his poems in a literary collection. This curiosity shows Qiji's wish to be regarded as a serious poet, too. In the third and final couplets Qiji affirms his official friend about his devotion to poetic art and expresses a hope of reunion. This poem shows clearly that Qiji desires to be recognised as a worthy poet among other great poets. Did this pursuit of acknowledgement in secular scholarship make Qiji a less qualified monk? In Zanning's opinion, Qiji was still a worthy example for other monks, and he put Qiji's biography in the *zake shengde pian* 雜科聲德篇 (Chapter of the miscellaneous and virtuous) section in *SGSZ*.

However, even if the monks studied *shi* poetry as a personal interest, it was usually not exclusively private but often used in social interaction. The teaching of external learning had its origin in the Buddhist monks' need to interact with non-Buddhists. Monk *shi* poetry being an exclusively private study would in fact lose its original meaning to promote Buddhism among different teachings. When a monk's *shi* poetry went beyond the monastic communities, the monks' works would be read in

the socio-political context like those of the literati. How monk *shi* poetry was read within socio-political context will be further discussed in the case study.

In this section I have argued that external learning provided Buddhist monks opportunities to be in contact with the local officials and increased their prospect in officialdom. There were several examples that monk *shi* poetry as external learning assisted the poet-monks to advance their career into officialdom. However, not all the poet-monks wrote *shi* poetry to anticipate a career ambition. Some poet-monks took poetic art as a personal interest and an end in itself. Even if *shi* poetry was a personal interest, monk *shi* poetry, in the spirit of external learning to promote Buddhism among different teachings, often served as a means for communication between Buddhists and non-Buddhists.

2.3. The Rise of Poet-Monks from the Middle Tang

Poet-monks existed long before the Middle Tang, but monk *shi* poetry only became relatively significant in the poetry culture from the Middle Tang onwards. The Middle Tang poet-monks did not provide a clear explanation in their works why they were motivated to seriously study poetic art. We may ask why they suddenly were highly motivated to write *shi* poetry in the Middle Tang? And why *shi* poetry of all external learning?

2.3.1. The background of the leading Middle Tang poet-monks

Although monks' observation of the monastic codes and Southern Chan Buddhism were not the major incentives for the rise of poet-monks during the Middle Tang, they formed favourable conditions to monks' poetry writing. The religious background of the leading Middle Tang poet-monks shows some common characteristics relevant to the studies of monastic codes and Chan Buddhism. Several of the leading Middle Tang poet-monks were known to have expertise in *vinaya*: Lingyi studied *Sifen lü* of the Xiangbu school (*Xianbu zong* 相部宗) under Fashen 法慎 (d. 748);[179] Qingjiang studied *Sifen lü* of the Xiangbu and the Nanshan schools (*Nanshan zong* 南山宗) under Tanyi;[180] Lingche's lineage is unclear in *SGSZ*, but he wrote a *vinaya* exegesis work *Lü zong yin yuan* 律宗引源 (The origin sources of the *vinaya* studies), indicating that he had knowledge of the monastic codes in certain depth.[181] The other important poet-monk Jiaoran also had studied the monastic code of the Nanshan school under Shouzhi 守直 (d. 770).[182] Zanning, the author of *SGSZ*, listed the biographies of Lingyi, Qingjiang and Lingche in the section of *minglü pian* 明律篇 (Chapter of thoroughly understanding the monastic codes). This categorization indicates that the poet-monks were possibly disciplinary masters in the monasteries or had a significant reputation in the studies of monastic codes. The Japanese scholar Kawachi Shōen 河內昭圓 argues that the monks studying the monastic codes were usually well educated due to the demands of the study, and their

[179] *SGSZ*, 799a.

[180] *SGSZ*, 802a.

[181] *SGSZ*, 802b.

[182] *SGSZ*, 891c.

high education was advantageous for them to explore literary writing.[183] Furthermore, being the experts of the monastic codes themselves, they were looked upon as models of proper conduct in the monasteries. Their enthusiasm in poetry writing and success of gaining recognition from the secular scholars could serve an inspiration for other monks.

Besides the monastic codes, several of the mentioned Middle Tang poet-monks received the Chan Buddhist teachings.[184] The relative relaxed attitude of Chan Buddhism towards the conventional disciplinary observation might have contributed to inspire the monks to demonstrate their spirituality in an unconventional way such as poetry writing.[185]

Another favourable condition to monks' poetry writing was that several Middle Tang poet-monks such as Lingyi and Qingjiang had masters who provided strong models for studying external learning. Lingyi's master Fashen 法慎 (d. 748) would employ the teachings of Confucian canons and literary writing while advising laymen as a spiritual guide.[186] Fashen's pragmatic and successful approach to use external learning to promote Buddhism could serve a high inspiration for his disciples following his example. Qingjiang's master Tanyi 曇一 (692-771)[187] was also a disciple of Fashen and was particularly interested in the studies of history and

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[183] Kawachi Shōen 河內昭圓, "*Tetsu shōnin bunshū jo kanki* 澈上人文集序管窺" in *Ôtani daigaku kenkyū nenpō* 大谷大學研究年報, 26 (1974). Chinese scholar Jiang Yin 蔣寅 mentions and summarises Kawachi Shōen's argument in *DSY*, 1:326.

[184] See relevant discussion, pp. 56-62 and footnote 135. The Middle Tang poet-monks who received the Chan teachings were not recognised in any particular Chan school.

[185] See Jiaoran's poems as an example, pp. 58-9.

[186] *SGSZ*, 796b.

[187] *SGSZ*, 802a.

Confucian classics.[188] Lingyi and Qingjiang's great interest in external learning might have been inherited from their masters' example.

The common characteristics of the leading Middle Tang poet-monks' religious background only explain the favourable conditions for their serious study of poetic art. The poet-monks' *shi* poetry writing as a means to interact with non-Buddhists was inspired by the extrinsic social changes.

2.3.2. *Jinshi* examination and the rise of poet-monks

The discussion in the section 2.2 exemplifies that external learning was a tool for the Buddhist clergy to interact with non-Buddhists, and, moreover, to gain the scholar-officials' support for personal and communal interests. The intellectual interests of the secular scholars and the learned monks were often simultaneous and coherent. There were two obvious reasons for the intellectual coherence. Firstly, many learned monks were converted literati, and their external learning was essentially an extension of their secular studies. Secondly, the Buddhist clergy's dependent relationship on the scholar-officials also motivated the monks to follow the intellectual interests of the literati instead of developing their own. For instance, the pre-Tang poet-monk Baoyue 寶月 (*fl.c.* 482-493) who served in the Qi court of Xiao Ze 蕭賾 (r. 482-493), wrote poetry about love relationships which seems an improper poetic topic for a Buddhist monk committed by his vows to celibacy. Love relationships were a popular poetic theme in the court poetry during the Southern dynasties, and Baoyue probably wrote poetry in resonance with the palace scholars' interests. During the Late Tang, *kuyin* 苦吟 (painstaking recitation) was a very popular poetic theme in literati poetry, and this

[188] *SGSZ*, 798a.

theme also repeatedly appeared in many Late Tang poet-monks' poems. (See more detailed discussions on *kuyin* poetry on pp. 196-208.)

The learned monks' external learning mirrored the mainstream scholars' intellectual pursuits. Perhaps the rise of the poet-monks from the Middle Tang was a partial reflection of the majority literati's strong interest in poetic art? During the Sui and Tang the government set up an examination system in addition to the social recommendations to recruit officials.[189] The examination, in particular the *jinshi* examination, was the most prestigious official recruitment channel for the literati, and those recruited into service through examination usually had a better chance of serving in a high post.[190] The category *zawen* 雜文 (miscellaneous compositions) started being tested in the *jinshi* examination from the year 681, and a test poetry composition was gradually included in *zawen* category. During the late Kaiyuan 開元 period (713-741) and Tianbao period (742-756) testing poetry composition in the *jinshi* examination was in its full swing and generally retained its prestige in the examination afterwards.[191] *Shi* poetry writing thus became an official indicator of one's scholarship. Although *shi* poetry had long been a popular art before the Tianbao period, it was not a study in which one had to specialise to pass the examination or to

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[189] During the Tang there were several ways to enter the civil service: promotion from sub-official status, inheritance of official status by the sons of existing officials, recommendation from officials in service and passing the examination. Twitchett, Denis Crispin, *The Birth of the Chinese Meritocracy : Bureaucrats and Examinations in T'ang China*, (London China Society, 1976), 5-33.

[190] Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 analyses the number of grand councillors from examination recruitment in the emperor Xuanzong's reign (r. 712-756) and the reigns of subsequent emperors. Officials passing the *jinshi* examination had a significant chance in obtaining this highest post in officialdom. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Tang dai keju yu wenxue* 唐代科舉與文學 (Tang examinations and literature) (Xian: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 2003), 193-5.

[191] Ibid., 404-9.

prove one's standing in scholarship until it was tested in the *jinshi* examination. The Middle and Late Tang era witnessed the growing practice of *xingjuan* 行卷 (circulation scrolls).[192] *Xingjuan* was a practice in which the *jinshi* examinees edited their literary works and wrote them on scrolls. They sent these scrolls to people of influence and hoped to gain approval to increase their chances of passing the examination and becoming Presented Scholars. The literati's intensive practice of *xingjuan* was evidence of the competitiveness of the examination and the elaborating studies in poetic art. The literati's enthusiasm in poetic art was likely to influence the monks' attitude to study *shi* poetry.

The poet-monk Lingyi was regarded by Liu Yuxi to be the pioneer of the Middle Tang poet-monks whereas most of the Middle Tang poet-monks were active during the Dali period (766-779).[193] Lingyi (726-762), active during the Tiaobao period (742-756), was slightly ahead of other Middle Tang poet-monks. Was it purely a coincidence that Liu Yuxi recognised the poet-monk Lingyi, whose life overlapped the Tianbao period as the pioneer inspiring the poet-monks of the later generation? There was no sure answer to this question. However, Lingyi's devotion to poetic art was possibly noticed by his contemporary literati who diligently studied poetic art. Lingyi's poetry writing granted him a literary privilege never seen in the poet-monks before. The poetry anthology *Zhongxing jian qi ji* compiled by Gao Zhongwu selected *shi* poems from 756 to 779, and Lingyi was the only poet-monk among the twenty-six poets in this anthology.[194] The Tang poetry anthologies in *TRXTS* before the

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[192] Cheng Qianfan 程千帆, *Tang dai jinshi xingjuan yu wenxue* 唐代進士行卷與文學 (Tang presented scholars' circulation scroll and literature) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 3.

[193] *DSY*, 1:325-31, 337-47.

[194] See relevant discussion, pp. 34-5.

compilation of *Zhongxing jian qi ji* did not see any monk poem selected. Gao Zhongwu broke the convention and selected Lingyi's poems in his poetry anthology, which suggests the he truly regarded Lingyi as an outstanding poet. Lingyi's example showed other monks that monk *shi* poetry was possible to attain an equal standing with the literati poetry.

Furthermore, Lingyi's successful association with the literati was also based on his achievement in poetic art. Gao Zhongwu commented on Lingyi: "Since the Qi and the Liang periods, there have been many monks good at literary writing, but few were up to the first rank. Master Lingyi, however, is capable to craft his poems to be refined and subtle. He and the scholar-officials exchange poetry. Isn't he great?" [自齊梁以來，道人工文者多矣，罕有入其流者。一公乃能刻意精妙，與士大夫更唱迭和，不其偉歟。][195] Lingyi's fine skill in poetry writing allowed him to closely interact with the scholar-officials on the literary terms. Lingyi's success in associating with officials through poetry writing could serve as a great inspiration for other Buddhist monks.

Without a pedigree or a chance to distinguish oneself in the state examination though, poet-monks gained acknowledgement of their external learning from the ruling officials and prominent scholars. As discussed above, the Middle Tang monk Wenchang visited several prominent scholar-officials and asked their advice on his poetry. The Tang and Wudai *shihua* 詩話 (talks on poetry) mentioned that various poet-monks sought approval from acclaimed scholars. For instance, *Quan Tang shihua* 全唐詩話 (Poetic talks of the Tang) records an anecdote of Jiaoran: Jiaoran

[195] *TRXTS*, 511.

was good at writing recent-styled poetry. When Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737-792) was sent on exile from the capital to the area of Jiaoran's residence, Jiaoran went to visit Wei Yingwu. In order to impress the lay poet who was good at writing ancient-style poetry, Jiaoran wrote several ancient-style poems and presented them to Wei Yingwu. Wei Yingwu, however, advised Jiaoran not to write ancient-style poems to please him, and Jiaoran should concentrate on writing recent-style poems which the poet-monk was good at.[196] The story is not seen in other official historical records, and its credibility is in question. Nevertheless, monk Wenchang's story agrees with the pattern of the poet-monk seeking literary advice and acknowledgement from the established scholars existed in the Middle Tang society. The case study of Guanxiu and Qiji's life and poetry in the next two chapters also shows that it was common for poet-monks to seek advice on their poetry from prominent officials and scholars to their poems. The secular scholars in general welcomed the Buddhist monks to study *shi* poetry together and opened their social circles to the distinguished poet-monks. The officials' and scholars' encouragement reinforced the monks' interest in poetic art.

This section has argued that the Buddhists studied external learning to interact with non-Buddhists, and their external learning was closely related to the secular scholars' mainstream interests. The rise of the poet-monks from the Middle Tang was stimulated by many favourable cultural and religious conditions, but the *jinshi* examination testing poetry during the Tianbao period was a significant incentive for the rise of the poet-monks from the Middle Tang. Without the secular scholars' general enthusiasm about poetic study, it would have been less likely that a significant number of poet-monks serious about poetic art would emerge during a short period.

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[196] He Wenhuan 何文煥, *Lidai shihua* 歷代詩話 (Poetic talks of the dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 239.

The rise of poet-monks was a literary phenomenon embedded in the function of external learning to interact with non-Buddhists to defend and promote Buddhism and his social standing.

2.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter analyses how the monastic codes and Southern Chan Buddhist teachings—two potential religious influences to inspire the rise of the poet-monks from the Middle Tang—were relevant to the poet-monks' *shi* poetry writing. *Shisong lü* allowed Buddhist monks to study external learning to defend and promote Buddhism, whereas other monastic codes were silent about external learning. The waning influence of *Shisong lü* during the Middle Tang did not stop the rise of poet-monks shows that disciplinary observation was not the major motivation for monks' great interest in poetic art. Southern Chan Buddhist teachings obviously influenced the Middle Tang poet-monk Jiaoran's poetry writing. However, a strong Chan spirit was not detected in other poet-monks' works. Furthermore, there was no evidence that the Middle Tang poets only started writing *shi* poetry after receiving Chan Buddhist teachings. Chan Buddhism might influence their writing style, but it was doubtful that it inspired the Middle Tang poet-monks to start writing poetry. There should be other incentives for the rise of poet-monks.

This chapter further studies the function of external learning in the context of the clergy's position in the socio-political system. External learning played a complex role to sustain the Buddhist clergy's prosperity in the socio-political scene. Buddhism as a foreign religion needed the support from the state and the scholar-officials to flourish in Chinese society. The management of the Buddhist communities in China was absorbed in the state governance with the establishment of the monk-official

system, and the scholar-officials held the power of appointing the monk-officials. For communal and individual interests, the Buddhist clergy desired to maintain a good relationship with the officials. External learning proved to be an effective means for the monks to build social connections and gain the scholar-officials' support for Buddhism. Monk *shi* poetry was a common ground for the Buddhists and secular scholars to interact. The accounts of the monks Wenchang, Shangyan and Zanning showed that their mastery of *shi* poetry helped them to associate with the scholar-officials even those unfriendly towards Buddhism. Moreover, on the ground of external learning the monks could attain an equal standing with the secular scholars in scholarship and, in theory, monk *shi* poetry could exert socio-political influence like literati poetry.

Shi poetry could be a serious artistic study, but it was usually not exclusively private because the main purpose of external learning was to build connections with non-Buddhists. Monk *shi* poetry as external learning helped poet-monks improve their prospect in officialdom, and the individual monk's success could potentially benefit the Buddhist community as a whole. Therefore, the Buddhist clergy tolerated some individual monks' dedication to poetic art, since the welfare of the Buddhist communities was encompassed within their personal achievement.

If external learning was a means to maintain the clergy's prosperity and interactions with the non-Buddhists, the rise of the poet-monks was more likely to be inspired by the extrinsic social changes than intrinsic development within the clergy. The inclusion of *shi* poetry in the *jinshi* examination from the Tianbao period onwards inspired many secular scholars to devote themselves to poetry writing during the Middle and Late Tang. The monks were likely to be affected by the interests of the

mainstream secular scholars. Soon after the Tianbao period a significant number of monks also showed a strong interest in poetry writing.

The next two chapters focus on the lives and poetry of the Late Tang poet-monks Guanxiu and Qiji as a case study and examine how their religious careers and poetry writing were intertwined and shaped by the discourse of external learning.

Chapter Three: A Case Study of Guanxiu and Qiji's Life and Poetry (Part I)

Chapter Two explored the purpose and function of the Buddhist monks' external learning. In this chapter I examine and compare the lives, poetry and reception of two Late Tang poet-monks Guanxiu and Qiji as a case study to present the pragmatism of external learning as a dynamic force to shape the characteristics of the poet-monks' poetry writing.

The case study firstly reviews the receptions of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry in the modern studies and analyses some questions not yet explained. The discussions of Guanxiu and Qiji's lives and poetry are structured to answer the questions presented in the literary review. Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry collections, *Chanyue ji* 禪月集 (Chanyue collection) and *Bailian ji* 白蓮集 (White lotus collection), are briefly described. The general pattern of their religious career, poetry writing and social connections is outlined. Afterwards, in Chapter Three, Guanxiu and Qiji's individual attitudes towards the socio-politics and monk-officialdom are explicated and compared. Chapter Four further analyses Guanxiu and Qiji's respective views on the relationship between their poetry writing and religious studies. The characteristics of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems are examined in the context of external learning and compared to their contemporary literati's poems. A short summary is provided at the

end of each chapter.

3.1. Modern Studies of Guanxiu and Qiji's Poetry

Modern studies of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry are at present mainly Chinese journal articles. The literature review in Chapter One has pointed out that Middle Tang monk *shi* poetry is generally read from two conventions. The literary convention separates *ji* verse from *shi* poetry and focuses more on the artistic quality of monk *shi* poetry. The social convention separates Buddhist monks from the secular literati and views religious responsibilities as the priority for the monks, arguing they wrote poetry for religion instead of for art. These two conventional readings of monk *shi* poetry continue to underpin the modern studies of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry, but adding further specifications—*shi* poetry as a Confucian study and the poet-monks as Buddhists—into their evaluation.

Modern studies tend not to give an overall evaluation of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry but focus on two specific topics in their poems: the socio-political issues and Buddhist spirituality. The studies on Guanxiu and Qiji's socio-political poems treat *shi* poetry as a political admonishment from a perspective of its canonical tradition. The studies on Guanxiu and Qiji's poems expressing spirituality search for a Buddhist viewpoint in their works. Modern studies offer deep analyses Guanxiu and Qiji's works, but, as a consequence of paying attention only to a narrow range of topics, form only fragmented impressions of the two poet-monks' works.

3.1.1. Modern reception of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on socio-political issues

The studies of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on socio-political issues usually interpret the poems from a Confucian perspective: *shi* poetry could reflect the temporary socio-political realities and serve as an aid to state governing.[197] In the studies of Guanxiu and Qiji's socio-political poems, the scholars argue that the poet-monks combined the Confucian and the Buddhist teachings to criticise the socio-politics issues of their times. He Zhongfu 賀中复, for example in the article "*Lun Wudai shiguo de zong Bai shifeng* 論五代十國的宗白詩風 (On the imitated writing of Bai Juyi's poetic styles in Wudai Shiguo poetry)"[198] argues that Guanxiu was motivated by the teachings both of Buddhist compassion (*cibei* 慈悲) and Confucian benevolence (*ren'ai* 仁愛) to write socio-political poems:

> [The Late Tang and Wudai] poets might have felt it painful about the turbulence during the Tang times and the hardship of the people's life. [They wrote poetry] out of a practical motivation to "present the poems to the emperor so as to revitalise state governing and to support people." (from Guanxiu's poem *Du hou xing* (Ballad of Du Marquis)) They followed the example of Bai Juyi to "firstly admonish the state ruling through ballads and poetry." (from Bai Juyi's poem *Cai guan shi* (Poem of the official listening to poetry))...Guanxiu in particular appreciated the spirit in Bai Juyi's poetry and essays to "be able to really warn and encourage those who were not enlightened and leave a lesson for the future generation." (from Guanxiu's poem *Xu Yaoliang gong zuoyouming* (Continuation of the motto of Duke Liang Yao Chong)) Guanxiu [followed Bai Juyi's spirit] to "compose literary works and take the poem *Fengjian* (Admonishment) as a model" (from [Guanxiu's poem] *Ji Feng shijun* (Sending [a poem] to Regional Inspector Feng)). [Guanxiu] selected "the stories worth sympathy from what I heard and saw" [to write into his poems.] One of Guanxiu's representative poems *Yang chun qu* (Ballad of warm spring) even cried out loud to pledge [a better state government] on behalf of the

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[197] See James J. Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 106-16.

[198] See He Zhongfu 賀中复, "*Lun Wudai shiguo de zong Bai shifeng* 論五代十國的宗白詩風 (On Bai Juyi's poetic styles in Wudai shiguo poetry)," *Zhongguo shihui kexue* 中國社會科學 (Chinese social science), no. 5 (1996): 143-6.

people... [Guanxiu] combined Confucian benevolence with Buddhist compassion in such poems.

[晚唐五代]詩人們或痛感唐朝喪亂，民生塗炭，出自"致君活國濟生人"(貫休: 《杜侯行》)的實用動機，效法白居易"先向歌詩求諷刺"(白居易：《採官詩》)……貫休尤重白居易詩文的"實可警策未悟，貽厥將來"(《續姚梁公座右銘》)，"爲文攀《諷諫》"(《寄馮使君》)，選取"聞見之間有足悲者"，其代表作《陽春曲》甚至大聲疾呼，爲民請命……把儒家仁愛與佛家慈悲相結合。[199]

In the above passage He Zhongfu quotes several lines from Guanxiu's poems to express his view that Guanxiu meant his poetry for political admonishment. Guanxiu followed Bai Juyi's spirit of writing *xin yuefu* 新樂府 (new music bureau poetry) poems for socio-political purposes. However, He Zhongu does not explain how exactly the teachings of Buddhist compassion and Confucian benevolence are compatible in Guanxiu's poems. As for Qiji, Wang Zixi 王子羲 in "*Lun Qiji Shi de shihui xianshi neirong ji qi yishu tese* 論齊己詩的社會現實內容及其藝術特色 (On the social issues and artistic characteristics in Qiji's poetry)" also held a similar view that Qiji wrote poetry to reflect the frequent unrests during the Late Tang and the Wudai periods.[200] Sun Changwu, who views the poet-monks as little different from literati, also argues that Guanxiu and Qiji were motivated by their political ideal and wrote poetry to aid the state ruling:

These poet-monks [including Guanxiu and Qiji] associated with the distinguished and powerful people. Many of them submitted their loyalty to the regional military

[199] He Zhongfu 賀中复, "*Wudai shiguo shitan gaishuo* 五代十國詩壇概說 (A general introduction to Wudai shiguo poetry)," *Beijing shihui kexue* 北京社會科學 (Beijing social science), no. 4 (1996), 144. Another scholar, Xu Zhihua 徐志華, argues the same view. See Xu Zhihua 徐志華, "*Lun ru shi hu shen de Guanxiu shi* 論儒釋互滲的貫休詩 (On Guanxiu's poetry under mutual influence of Confucianism and Buddhism)," *Hunan keji xueyuan xuebao* 湖南科技學院學報 (Journal of Hunan University of Science and Engineering), 26, no. 7 (2005): 226.

[200] Wang Zixi 王子羲, "*Lun Qiji shi de shihui xianshi neirong ji qi yishu tese* 論齊己詩的社會現實內容及其藝術特色 (On the social issues and artistic characteristics in Qiji's poetry)," *Yiyang shizhuan xuebao* 益陽師專學報 (Journal of Yiyang Teachers' College), 17, no. 2 (1996): 76.

commissioners. This was a survival tactic for them under the circumstances...[The Late Tang and Wudai poet-monks] were not like the scholar monks in the Six Dynasties who were satisfied with the Buddhist pursuit to nurture one's virtues and mind. They wanted to involve themselves with real political affairs. Hence they often used their poetry to express their opinions about the social conflicts in reality...Guanxiu and Qiji both lived in a troubled time...Although they submitted loyalty to the regional powers, they still held the ideal of a great ruler and wise vassals, benevolent ruling and consideration for the people. It was their goal to use Confucian and Buddhist teachings together, and even the Taoist teaching, to help improve the state ruling.

這些詩僧[貫休、齊己]出入貴豪勢要之門，特別是不少人投靠了割據的一方的鎮帥門下，是在當時條件下謀取生路而不得不然。.....他們不再像六朝那些義學僧侶們滿足於以佛"治內"、"治心"，而且有意直接參與現實政治活動的。因而他們也就常常以自己的詩表達對現實社會矛盾的看法。.....貫休與齊己都是在亂世中生活的.....他們雖然投靠地方割據勢力，但心中仍保持聖主賢臣、仁政愛民的理想。儒、釋兼用或儒、釋、道兼用以整頓天下仍是他們希冀的目標。[201]

Sun Changwu essentially treats Guanxiu and Qiji as state subjects hoping for the political stability. They joined the regional government for survival and also because of their political ambition. The poet-monks wrote *shi* poetry as a Confucian study to serve socio-political purposes. Sun Changwu also argues that the poet-monks political ideal was to combine Buddhist and Confucian and even Taoist concepts to govern the country. He considered that the poet-monks placed their political ideal above their commitment to Buddhism.

In general the mentioned studies treat *shi* poetry as a means for socio-political reformation, and monk *shi* poetry demonstrated the same purposes. However, the studies do not find it contradictory that Guanxiu and Qiji as Buddhists would promote teachings other than Buddhism. If Buddhist monks were allowed to study non-

[201] Sun Changwu 孫昌武, "*Tang Wudai shiseng* 唐五代詩僧 (Tang and Wudai poet-monks)," in *Chansi yu shiqing* 禪思與詩情 (Chan thoughts and poetic feelings) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 349.

Buddhist learning under the circumstances to promote Buddhism, why did the poet-monks also promote Confucian teachings in their poetry? Did Guanxiu and Qiji really write poetry for socio-political purposes? Why did the poet-monks not write their *shi* poetry mainly about their religious studies? A similar question is also asked in Jiang Liyu's 蔣力余 study on Qiji's poems of Buddhist spirituality:

> Does each of Qiji's poems express Chan Buddhist ideas? Each eliminates the difference between the individual and the external environment? Each line excels beyond the human sadness? This is not so. He was after all a human being and a poet. It was impossible for him to totally forget about the external environment and himself. It was impossible for him not to mind the secular world. [In the poem] *Qiu ri Qiantang zuo* (Composition at Qiantang in autumn) he wrote, "If Gou Jian's ghost still remains, he should still be covered in blood from the battles."……Are Buddhists allowed to talk about killing life?
> 齊己的詩歌是否處處充滿禪意，篇篇都泯滅了物我，句句出於悲哀之外呢？也不盡然。他畢竟是人，是詩人，不可能徹底地忘形忘我，不可能完全不食人間煙火。"勾踐魂如在，應懸戰血腥。"(《秋日錢塘作》)……佛家不是不言殺生嗎？[202]

Jiang Liyu asserts that Qiji's poetry writing about the blood-shedding warrior strayed away from the observance of the monastic codes. Jiang Liyu explains that the poet-monk was after all an emotional human being and could not escape the secular affairs. However, this answer cannot adequately explain why monk *shi* poetry would promote teachings other than Buddhism and, moreover, why the clergy would tolerate the poet-monks to write poetry for other teachings.

3.1.2. Modern reception of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on Buddhist spirituality

Modern studies are aware that the Buddhist monks observed the monastic codes,

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[202] Jiang Liyu 蔣力余, "*Lüe lun Qiji shige de chan jing mei* 略論齊已詩歌的禪境美 (A brief discussion on the Chan aestheics in Qiji's poetry)," *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan* 中國韻文學刊 (Journal of Chinese rhymed literature), no. 2 (1995): 28.

and their religious observance was likely to influence their literary writing too. Huang Xinlang 黃新亮, for example, states in his study "*Qiji shi zhong renjian fojiao sixiang chutan* 齊己詩中人間佛教思想初探 (An initial investigation of the Buddhist thoughts of state ruling in human world in Qiji's poetry)":

> The codes of the Chan school were a complete regulation of the monks' thoughts, words and acts. For Qiji, who joined the monasteries from childhood, it was impossible not to have been under the restrictions of religion.
> 禪門制約對僧人來說是思想言行的全面制約，作爲自幼躋身佛門的齊已，其創作不可能不受宗教觀念的制約。[203]

Because of the monks' observance of the monastic codes, a Buddhist influence seemed inevitable in the monks' poetry writing, and many modern studies therefore attempt to establish a Buddhist interpretation of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry.[204]

There is, however, an obvious problem: the content of monk *shi* poetry is not particularly religious, and how should one establish a Buddhist interpretation of their apparently worldly poems? Modern studies present three approaches to this problem: one is to read monk *shi* poetry from the perspective of the Chan teachings. The second method is to emphasise how the aesthetic qualities of monk *shi* poetry express Buddhist spirituality. The third method is to compare the similar experiences of meditating to achieve enlightenment and of poetry writing. These three methods are related to each other; all address the similarities between Buddhist studies and poetry

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[203] Huang Xinliang 黃新亮, "*Qiji shi zhong renjian fojiao sixiang chutan* 齊己詩中人間佛教思想初探 (An initial investigation of the Buddhist thoughts of state ruling in human world in Qiji's poetry)," *Yiyang shizhuan xuebao* 益陽師專學報 (Journal of Yiyang Teachers' College), no. 1 (1995): 104.

[204] Although a Buddhist viewpoint should be able to be found in both Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry, the studies on the Buddhist spirituality concentrate on Qiji's poetry. This might due to Qiji's fondness for writing about his personal experiences and studies which means it is easier for the scholars to extract the poet-monk's view of the relationship between the religious and poetic studies.

writing.

The Chan teachings addressed the concept that Buddha nature could be demonstrated in all things, including poetry writing.[205] The modern studies taking this view usually argue that writing poetry was integrated into the poet-monks' religious studies. Xiao Lihua 蕭麗華 states for example:

> Qiji was fond of poetry writing but also devoted to meditation. However, writing poetry would involve him with secular emotions, but meditation pursues a calm mind. The two practices contradict each other. Can the two practices benefit each other?...What in Qiji's poetry is worth studying is: in a poetry-and-meditation culture, Qiji as a Buddhist became a successful poet. He showed how the tactics of poetry writing could be advanced and did not lose a Chan Buddhist's fundamental pursuit of improving one's virtue...Qiji proved that a Chan Buddhist needed not to be totally unworldly so as not to contaminate his spiritual pursuit.
> 齊己鍾情於詩又歸心於禪，但詩染世情，禪求寂心，二者不免相妨，能否相成？.....齊己詩值得大書特書的，是他通過詩禪文化的歷史側影，顯出禪子成功的成爲詩家之流，爲詩法提示更上一層的工夫，又不失禪者進德修道之本.....爲禪者不必離塵以求不染提供有力的証明。[206]

In Xiao Lihua's opinion, Qiji's poetry writing was relevant to the Chan studies, and the two studies could benefit each other. The Chan teachings could provide a new inspiration for Chinese poetics, and poetry writing could help the Chan practitioner's spiritual studies. Xiao Lihua noticed that Qiji sometimes complained in the poems that

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[205] See relevant discussion, pp. 56-62.

[206] *WTSQ*, 182-183. Another similar study is done by Liu Xinyue 劉新躍, and Liu Zhu 劉杼, "*Qiji Bailian ji yu zhong wan Tang shi chan jingjie* 齊己《白蓮集》與中晚唐詩禪境界 (Qiji's White lotus collection and Middle and Late Tang poetry expressing Chan spirituality)," *Hunan keji xueyuan xuebao* 湖南科技學院學報 (Journal of Hunan University of Science and Engineering), 7, no. 3 (2004): 94-8. However, the viewpoints in this article are highly repetitive with Xiao Lihua's study, sometimes word by word, therefore I only quote Xiao Lihua's viewpoint for discussion.

poetry writing impeded his religious studies.[207] In the attempts to solve this contradiction, Xiao Lihua points out that Qiji often paralleled *dao* 道 (the Way) or *chan* 禪 (meditation) with poetry writing in couplets and explicated the similarities between the Way, meditation and poetry writing. She quotes several couplets such as "The nature of the Way should be like water; the inner feelings expressed through poetry should be like ice." [道性宜如水，詩情合似冰。][208] Afterwards, Xiao Lihua argues:

> Of the ten *juan* in *Bailian ji*, such couplets discussing both poetry and meditation are many. We find that Qiji used words like *yan* 言 (words), *miao* 妙 (subtle), *shen* 深 (deep), *ru* 入 (entering), *ning* 凝 (concentrating), *dan* 澹 (blend), *shui* 水 (water), *bing* 冰 (ice), *zhen* 真 (true), *jing* 精 (essence), *ji* 極 (extreme), *ziran* 自然 (natural), *qing* 清 (clear), *xin* 新 (new) to describe the depth of experience of combining poetry writing and meditation into one practice. Experiencing the joy and tracelessness of contemplation, meditation, concentration to achieving enlightenment, Qiji understood the fundamental teaching "think in the right way" is where poetry and meditation could be combined into one study. Based on this understanding, Qiji completes a unification of poetry and meditation.
> 《白蓮集》十卷中，此類合論詩禪的句子多得不勝枚舉，從這裡我們可以發現齊己以「言」「妙」「深」「入」「凝」「澹」「水」「冰」「真」「精」「極」「自然」「清」「新」等等來形容詩禪合轍的深味，齊己從冥思、靜坐、凝神、證心的道途中趣及無跡，了然根源之正思正是詩禪一貫處，從中完成詩禪的統一。[209]

Xiao Lihua argues that Qiji emphasised the similarities between religious and poetic studies. Poetry writing might not always be compatible with religious studies. However, if one does not conceive the two studies as unnecessarily contradictory, it is possible to study Buddhism and poetry together based on the similarities between the two studies.

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[207] *WTSQ*, 186-7. See relevant discussion, pp. 148-50.

[208] See the relevant discussion, pp.150-2.

[209] *WTSQ*, 191.

The second method to extract a Buddhist viewpoint in monk *shi* poetry is to emphasise how the aesthetic qualities of monk *shi* poetry express Buddhist spirituality. Jiang Liyu in the article "*Lüe lun Qiji shige de chan jing mei* 略論齊己詩歌的禪境美 (A brief discussion on the Chan aesthetics in Qiji's poetry)"[210] argues that Qiji's poetry generally makes Chan aesthetics predominant and describes the aesthetics as *pinghe guya* 平和古雅 (ordinary, peaceful, ancient and elegant), *qiujing piaoyi* 遒勁飄逸 (vigorous, forceful, floating and distinguishing), *lengqiao huanghan* 冷峭荒寒 (cold, steep, desolate and chilling) and *qingxin ziran* 清新自然 (refreshing and natural). Each description presents a type of aesthetic quality contributing to religious studies: *pinghe guya* shows Qiji's calmness resulting from meditation when facing exterior disturbance; *qiujin piaoyi* presents the poet's commitment to the unworldly monastic life; *lengqiao huanghan* expresses the hardship of Qiji's spiritual pursuit; *qingxin ziran* conveys a sense of spiritual unification of the poet-monk and his exterior environment.[211] Jiang Liyu quotes a few couplets from Qiji's poems as examples of each aesthetic quality, for example he quotes the couplet "Random crickets sing among the white grass; the wilted chrysanthemums lie on the green moss." [亂蛩鳴白草，殘菊藉蒼苔。][212] to express the *lengqiao huanghan* (cold, steep, desolate and chilling) quality. However, he does not explain how exactly this couplet could express the hardship of Qiji's spiritual pursuit.

The third approach for a Buddhist interpretation of monk *shi* poetry emphasises the similarities between writing and meditating. Jiang Liyu "*Qiji shang 'qing' shuo*

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[210] Jiang Liyu 蔣力余, "*Lüe lun Qiji shige de chan jing mei* 略論齊己詩歌的禪境美 (A brief discussion on the Chan aestheics in Qiji's poetry)," 24-8.

[211] Ibid., 25-8

[212] *Qi youren* 期友人 (Expecting my friend), *BLJ, juan* 1: 17ab; *QTS,* 12: 9442.

tanwei 齊己尙'清'說探微 (A study on Qiji pursuit of '*qing*' poetic style)"[213] thinks the *qing* 清 (lit. clear) quality describes the general aesthetic pursuit of Qiji's poetic study. *Qing* is a quality of clarity, purity and freshness. Jiang Liyu relates *qing* quality to the poet-monk's *kuyin* 苦吟 (painstaking recitation) experience.[214] He argues that the Buddhist monks meditate to maintain an empty and clear mentality, and this is a favourable mental condition for writing poetry. Jiang Liyu believes that Qiji employed Buddhist meditative skills in his poetry writing. Jiang Liyu quotes Qiji's couplet in the poem *Yu yin* 喻吟 (Explaining poetic recitation) to support this viewpoint: "My hair turns white in innocence of the poetry; my spirit is clear before there is imagery." [頭白無邪裡，魂清有象先。][215] Peng Yaling 彭雅玲 in her doctoral thesis also

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[213] This article was published in the year 1995. There are several articles published to study the *qing* quality of Qiji's poetry after 1995: a section of Xie Yaoan's master dissertation *Qiji shi yanjiu* (p. 155-68) discusses the *qing* characteristic; Xie Ziya 謝資娅, "*Qiji shilun shang* '*qing*' *shuo chutan* 齊已詩論尙'清'說初探 (An initial investigation of Qiji's upholding 'purity' in his poetics), " *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* 中國文學研究 (Research of Chinese literature), 74, no. 3 (2004): 41-4; Tian Yufang 田玉芳, "*Wu qi zi zhong ku, bai qian nian hou qing--Qiji shi zhi si* '*ku*', *ge* '*qing*' *ji lilun chengjiu* 五七字中苦百千年後清--齊已詩之思'苦'、格'清'及理論成就 (Painstakingly recite the five- and seven-character lines; they remain pure in style after hundreds or thousands of years--on pondering 'painstaking' and the 'pure' style in Qiji's poetry and his achievement in poetics)," *Sheke zongheng* 社科縱橫 (Social sciences review), 21, no. 1 (2006): 89-90. The points in these articles are highly repetitive, sometimes word by word, with Jiang Liyu's study, therefore I only quote and discuss the points presented in Jiang Liyu's article.

[214] Jiang Liyu 蔣力余, "*Qiji shang* '*qing*' *shuo tanwei* 齊已尙'清'說探微 (A study on Qiji pursuit of 'qing' poetic style)," *Xiangtan daxue xuebao* 湘潭大學學報 (Journal of Xiangtan University), no. 1 (1995): 39.

[215] *BLJ, juan* 6: 836a; *QTS*, 12: 9525. *Wuxie* 無邪 (innocence) is from *Lunyu* 論語 (*The Analects*), "The master said, 'Three hundred poems of *Shi jing*, using one line to cover their purpose, that is 'the thought is innocent.'" [子曰：「詩三百，一言以蔽之，曰：『思無邪』。」] Liu Baonan 劉寶楠, *Lunyu zhengyi* 論語正義 (Notations of the analects), in *Song Yuan Ming Qing shisanjing zhushu huiyao* 宋元明清十三經注疏匯要 (Essential notations from the Song, the Yuan, the Ming and the Qing of the thirteen classics), ed. Zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe Chuantong wenhua yanjiu zu 中央黨校出版社傳統文化研究組, 11: 13b-14a (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1996).

addresses the experience of similarities between meditation and poetry writing, but she focuses these similarities in a different way: poetic inspiration is like spiritual enlightenment; and it takes a poet a great effort to obtain an inspiration. This experience is similar for a Chan practitioner to achieve enlightenment.[216]

Xiao Lihua, Jiang Liyu and Peng Yaling all conclude that monk *shi* poetry expresses Buddhist spirituality based on these similarities between meditation and poetry, and the poet-monks' poetry writing was integral in their religious studies. There may be many similarities between the poet-monks religious and poetic studies. However, did these similarities express exclusively Buddhist spirituality? Some of Guanxiu's poems are just doubtful to present a Buddhist view, for example, Guanxiu's four poems *Meng you xian* 夢遊仙 (*Dreaming of the travelling immortal*)[217] wrote about his dreaming of Taoist paradise. One may interpret Guanxiu's poems on Taoist paradise still as a demonstration of Buddhist spirituality from the perspective of Southern Chan teachings, but this interpretation seems naturally contrived. Even if Guanxiu simply did not obey the monastic codes to write poetry, we are back to the old question: why should the clergy tolerate the poet-monks' promoting other teachings?

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[216] Peng Yaling 彭雅玲, "*Tang dai shiseng de chuangzuo lun yanjiu—shige yu fojiao de zonghe fenxi* 唐代詩僧的創作論研究—詩歌與佛教的綜合分析 (A study of the motivation of the Tang monk poets' composition--an combined analysis of religion and Buddhism)," 147-62

[217] *CYJ*, 15. Edward Schafer has translated these four poems. See John Minford, and Joseph S. M. Lau, eds., *Classical Chinese Literature An Anthology of Translations Vol 1: From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty* (New York and Hong Kong: Columbia University Press and The Chinese University Press, 2000), 986.

The poet-monks were Buddhist monks writing *shi* poetry which rooted in Confucian canon scholarship. It is natural that modern studies focus either on the Confucian or the Buddhist aspect of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry. However, the co-existence of the two topics in Guanxiu and Qiji's works indicates that the poet-monks could write poetry for both socio-political and religious purposes. During the Tang, the poetic art becomes intimately intertwined with one's admittance to officialdom and involvement with politics. There is a striking lack of explanation in modern studies how the poet-monks viewed the compatibility of their being politically involved with meanwhile maintaining an unworldly identity in their poetry. Moreover, Guanxiu and Qiji's poems are not limited to these two topics, and their poems of other topics have not been fully explored in the modern studies, either. Was there a greater context to allow Guanxiu and Qiji to write poetry of various topics and still maintain a common purpose in their poetic pursuits? The differences of poet-monks' individual views are also generally overlooked. Did all poet-monks really write poetry from the same viewpoint? Or were their individual differences also to shape their writing of *shi* poetry?

From the angle of the poet-monks' position in society and the function of external learning, the case study re-evaluates Guanxiu and Qiji's works on socio-politic issues and Buddhist spirituality and eventually the general characteristics of their poetry in comparison to literati poetry. This chapter examines the poet-monks' individual views on socio-political and their poetry writing, and how their poetry writing was received in their contemporary social context.

3.2. Guanxiu and Qiji's Life

Historical accounts of Guanxiu and Qiji's life are included in various sources.

The preface and afterword of both *Chanyue ji* and *Bailian ji* briefly mention the general information and important events of their life. The prefaces were written by Guanxiu and Qiji's literati friends Wu Rong 吳融 (*fl.c.* 889-904)[218] and Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (c. 900-968) respectively. Guanxiu's disciple Tanyu 曇域 (*fl.c.*923)[219] supplied an afterword to *Chanyue ji*. More details about Guanxiu and Qiji's life can be found in their biographies in *SGSZ*,[220] *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳 (Biographies of the Tang talents),[221] and the regional history *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋 (Histories of the Ten States).[222] *Biji* 筆記 (random notes), *yeshi* 野史 (private history) and *shihua* 詩話 (talks on poetry) also provide rich information about both poets' lives, though the historical reliability of these resources is uncertain. Guanxiu was a famous painter and calligrapher, and the accounts of his life also appear in some historical notes on paintings and calligraphy. Below is a table listing *biji*, *yeshi*, *shihua*

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[218] Wu Rong passed the *jinshi* examination and became a Presented Scholar in the year 889. He served on several high official posts in the court before he was demoted to Jingzhou (today's Hubei province). During his stay in Jingzhou Wu Rong met Guanxiu, and the two poets became good friends. He soon was called back to Chang'an to official service and was one of the most favoured officials of Zhaozong. *TCZZ*, 4:221-31.

[219] Tanyu lived in the same period with Qiji. Tanyu followed Guanxiu to the Shu state and died there too. *TCZZ*, 1:551.

[220] Guanxiu and Qiji's biographies are in *juan* 30 in the *zake shengde pian* 雜科聲德篇 (Chapter of the miscellaneous and virtuous).

[221] This was a Yuan (1271-1368) compilation of the biographies of the Tang and Wudai literary talents. Guanxiu's biographies are included in *juan* 10 and Qiji's in *juan* 9. Several publications by individual Chinese scholars have been published to correct the faults in *TCZZ*, and *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 (Corrections and notations of Biographies of the Tang talents) with Fu Xuancong 傅璿琮 as the leading editor is a five-volume group research work and an authoritative publication at the moment in the field.

[222] Guanxiu's biography is in *juan* 47, and Qiji's in *juan* 103. This regional history was edited by Wu Renchen 吳任臣 (c.1628- c.1689) on the southern ten states during the Wudai period. Guanxiu and Qiji's biographies are based on the compilation and edition of various non-standard histories, and their accuracy is not always reliable.

and historical notes on the paintings and calligraphy resources including an account of Guanxiu and Qiji:

Table 3.1 Historical Accounts of Guanxiu and Qiji's Life

Author/Editor/Compiler	Title	Guanxiu	Qiji
biji 筆記 (random notes) and *yeshi* 野史 (private history)			
Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (c. 900-968)	*Bei meng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 (Chit-chat of the northern dreamer)	X	X
Jing Huan 景煥 (*fl.c.* 895-971)[223]	*Yeren xianhua* 野人閒話 (A Hermit's leisurely talks)	X	
Zhang Tangying 張唐英 (1029-1071)	*Shu taowu* 蜀檮杌 (History of the Shu)	X	
Tao Yue 陶岳 (*fl.c.* 980)[224]	*Wudai shibu* 五代史補 (History of the Five Dynasties supplement)	X	X
Shen Gua 沈括 (1031-1095)	*Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Jottings from the Mengxi garden)	X	
Gong Mingzhi 龔明之 (1091-1182)	*Zhong Wu ji wen* 中吳紀聞 (Notes on what I heard at the central Wu region)	X	
Zhou Hui 周煇 (b. 1126)	*Qingpo zazhi* 清波雜志 (Miscellaneous records at Qingpo gate)	X	
shihua 詩話 (talks on poetry)			
Ji Yougong 計有功 (*fl.c.* 1126-1135)	*Tang shi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (Records of Tang poetry)	X	X
Fang Hui 方回 (1227-1306)	*Ying kui lusui* 瀛奎律髓 (Essence of regulated verse of successful scholars)[225]	X	X
Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711)	*Wudai shihua* 五代詩話 (Wudai poetry talks)	X	X
Historical notes on painting and calligraphy			
Huang Xiufu 黃休復 (*fl.c.* 998-1003)	*Yizhou ming hua lu* 益洲名畫錄 (Records of famous paintings in Yizhou)	X	

[223] Jing Huang served together with Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯 (895-971), who was a Grand Chancelor in the Later Shu (934-965) and a renowned poet. They both survived the fall of the Later Shu and still served in the early Song court.

[224] Tao Yue was a Presented Scholar in the year 980 during the Song. He once served as an Erudite of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials in the court and then as a Regional Inspector in several prefectures.

[225] Fang Hui named this work as *Ying kui* 瀛奎 from the allusion: Tang Taizong (r. 626-649) established Institute of Literary Attendants, and eighteen scholars were selected for the office. The honour for the eighteen scholars was so great that people described their official appointment as "arriving in Yingzhou," the mythical domain of the immortals. [*deng Yingzhou* 登瀛州] *Kui* 奎 means the *kui* constellation which is said to govern the fate of literary men. When the eighteen scholars "arrived in Yingzhou," the *kui* contellation shone on them. Therefore I translated *Ying kui* as "successful scholars" for the title.

Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (*fl.c.* 1070-4)[226]	*Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志 (Records of paintings seen and overheard)	X	
Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1039-1098)	*Wu jun tu jing xu ji* 吳郡圖經續記 (Continuation of Records of paintings in Wu prefecture)	X	
	Xuanhe hua pu 宣和畫譜 (Compilation of paintings of the Xuanhe period)	X	
	Xuanhe shu pu 宣和書譜 (Compilation of calligraphies of the Xuanhe period)	X	
Chen Si 陳思 (*fl.c.* 1194-1224)	*Shu xiao shi* 書小史 (A Short history of calligraphy)	X	

X: An account of the poet-monk's life can be found in this work.

Of the materials in Table 3.1, *Wudai Shihua* 五代詩話 (Talks of poetry of the Wudai period)[227] compiles the accounts of Guanxiu and Qiji in the various historical resources precedent to the era of its editor Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711). *Zhonghua dadian wenxue dian Sui Tang Wudai wenxue fendian* 中華大典文學典隋唐五代文學分典 (Great Chinese works: literature of the Sui, Tang and Wudai periods)[228] similarly compiles the accounts of Guanxiu and Qiji in various historical resources, and most of the materials in the table can be found in this extensive work.[229]

Western studies of Guanxiu and Qiji's lives and works are already seen from the

[226] Guo Ruoxu served on several minor official posts. He was an Imperial Larder in the year 1070. He wrote *Tuhua jianwen zhi* around the year 1074.

[227] Wang Shizhen 王士禎, ed., *Wudai shihua* 五代詩話 (Wudai poetry talks) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1989).

[228] Zhonghua dadian gongzuo weiyuanhui 中華大典工作委員會 and Zhonghua dadian bianzuan weiyuanhui 中華大典編纂委員會, *Zhonghua dadian wenxue dian Sui Tang Wudai wenxue fendian* 中華大典文學典隋唐五代文學分典 (Great Chinese works: literature of the Sui, Tang and Wudai periods), vol. 4 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000).

[229] See Guanxiu's section at *ZHDD*, 4: 840-8 and Qiji's at 4: 1169-76.

year 1959,[230] but there has not been a significant interest in the two poet-monks. At present a large portion of the studies on Guanxiu and Qiji's life and works are largely done by Chinese scholars and concentrate on specific topics. Modern Chinese studies of Guanxiu and Qiji are seen from the 1980s, and since the mid-1990s there has been a growing research interest in Guanxiu and Qiji's biographies, their social life and their work collections. At present Guanxiu and Qiji's biographies are included in *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi* 唐五代文學編年史 (A chronological history of the Tang and Wudai literature).[231] Much further research is still needed for a comprehensive view of their lives and works. The general outline of Guanxiu and Qiji's life accounted below is based on the study of the historical and modern resources.

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[230] Wu Chi-Yu 吳其昱, "Trois poèmes inédits de Kouan-hieou," *Journal Asiatique*, no. 247 (1959): 349-378, and Wu Chi-Yu 吳其昱, "Le séjour de Kouan-hieou au Houa chan et le titre du recueil de ses poèmes: Si-yo tsi," *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoise* 2 (1960): 159-78.

[231] These are four bulky volumes of work compiling and editing extensive studies on the Tang literary figures' life and works. Guanxiu and Qiji's chronological biographies can be found in Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, and Jia Jinhua 賈晉華, eds. *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi: Wudai juan* 唐五代文學編年史: 五代卷 (A chronological history of the Tang and Wudai literature: Wudai period) (Shengyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 1998); Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, and Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶, eds, *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi: wang tang juan* 唐五代文學編年史: 晚唐卷 (A chronological history of the Tang and Wudai literature: Late Tang period) (Shengyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 1998). In general the sections of Guanxiu and Qiji's life are well examined and documented. There are, however, still contradictions among the studies on Qiji's life. For example, it is generally agreed that Qiji had lived in the Daolin temple 道林寺 in Changsha 長沙 (in today's Hunan) for ten years at certain period of his life. *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi* allocates Qiji's stay in Daolin temple from the year 915. (Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, and Jia Jinhua 賈晉華 eds. *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi: Wudai juan* 唐五代文學編年史: 五代卷 (A chronological history of the Tang and Wudai literature: Wudai period), 121-2. However, Tian Daoying allocates this stay from the year 870 when Qiji was seven years old. (Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Qiji xingnian kaoshu* 齊己行年考述 (A textual study of the life of Qiji in chronological order)," *Tianjin daxue xuebao* 天津大學學報 (Journal of Tianjin University), no. 3 (2001): 222. Qiji's ten year stay in the Daolin temple still needs further research.

3.2.1. Life of Guanxiu

According to Guanxiu's disciple Tanyu, Guanxiu was born in the year 832 and a native of Lanxi 蘭溪 in Wuzhou 婺州 (in today's Zhejiang). His secular surname was Jiang 姜 and literary name (*zi* 字), Deyin 德陰. He was admitted to the local Buddhist Hean 和安 temple at a young age[232] and followed the monk Yuanzhen 圓貞 as master. Tanyu narrates that Guanxiu had a good memory that he could recite a thousand characters from *Fahua jing* 法華經 (*Saddharma-pundarīk-sūtra*), also known as *Lotus sutra*, per day.[233] Skill in memorization was often an indication of a monk's talent and scholarship in the hagiographies of the eminent monks.[234] Tanyu's mention of Guanxiu's memorizing skill emphasized that Guanxiu was a good Buddhist scholar. After receiving the full ordination, Guanxiu went to the Kaiyuan 開元 temple at Hongzhou 洪州 (in today's Jiangxi) to learn more of *Fahua jing*, and in a few years Guanxiu ascended to the Dharma seat and lectured on *Fahua jing*. Besides *Fahua jing* Guanxiu also studied and lectured *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (*Mahāyāna-śraddhotpādaśāstra*). *Fahua jing* and *Dasheng qixin lun* were two core studies in the Tiantai school, and Guanxiu's studies of the two sutras indicated that Guanxiu was originally from the Tiantai school.[235] The mentioned religious studies up this point were mentioned in Tanyu's afterword of *Chanyue ji* but not in Wu Rong's preface of *Chanyue ji*. Tanyu's emphasis of Guanxiu's Buddhist studies compensates Wu Rong's minimal account of Guanxiu's religious background: he only states that Guanxiu had

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[232] *SGSZ* records that Guanxiu was sent to the Hean temple at age seven by Chinese reckoning. The Chinese count the newborn baby as one year old. *SGSZ*, 897a.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*, 114-7.

[235] Shi Mingfu 釋明復, "*Guanxiu chanshi shengping de tantao* 貫休禪師生平的探討 (A study of the life of the Chan monk Guanxiu)," *Huagang foxue xuebao* 華岡佛學學報 (Huagang journal of Buddhism studies), no. 6 (1983), 56.

his hair shaven at Mt. Jinhua in Dongyang (in today's Zhejiang).

Besides the Tiantai school, Guanxiu also received the Chan teachings. In the poem *Jing Kuang chanshi yuan* 經曠禪師院 (Passing the yard of the monk Kuang of the Chinese Chan school)[236] Guanxiu mentions that he received the Chan monk Kuang's instruction for nearly three years.[237] According to *Fukaki hosshi den* 不可棄法師傳 (Biography of Fukaki Buddhist master) by the Japanese monk Shinzui 信瑞, the Japanese monk Fukaki 不可棄 (d. u.) visited and learned under the Chan master Shishang Qingzhu 石霜慶諸 (807-888), and in Shishang Qingzhu's monastery at Mt. Shishang (in today's Hunan) where Guanxiu, at age of fifty-six by Chinese reckoning, was *zhike* 知客 (director of the guests).[238] Guanxiu's studies with the monk Kuang and his service to Shishang Qingzhu showed that Guanxiu turned seriously interested in the Chan teachings at a certain point in his prime years. Other than the Tiantai and Chan teachings, Guanxiu also learned under several other monks such as monk Dayuan 大願 (*fl.c.* 870),[239] but their religious background was obscure.

Guanxiu showed early promise in the arts. Tanyu mentions that Guanxiu studied and exchanged poetry with a young novice called Chumo[240] in the same monastery during their adolescence. At the age of fifteen Guanxiu already enjoyed fame for his

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[236] *CYJ*, 83-4.

[237] The Chan lineage of Guanxiu is obscure, for example, *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Genealogy of the five lamps) lists Guanxiu in the category of obscure lineage. Puji 普濟, *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Genealogy of the five lamps) (Taipei: Xingwenfeng chuban, 1989), 137b.

[238] Shi Mingfu 釋明復, "*Guanxiu chanshi shengping de tantao* 貫休禪師生平的探討 (A study of the life of the Chan monk Guanxiu)," 62.

[239] See Guanxiu's poem *Ji Dayuan heshang* 寄大願和尚 (Sending [a poem] to monk Dayuan). *CYJ*, 99-102.

[240] Chumo's poems are collected in *QTS*, 12: 9613-5.

poetry. After Guanxiu passed away, Tanyu collected Guanxiu's poems and compiled *Chanyue ji*[241] named after his granted title Chanyue Dashi 禪月大師 (Master Chanyue) by the Former Shu king Wang Jian 王建 (847-918). Several poetry anthologies from the Wudai to the Qing period selected and commented on Guanxiu's poems.[242] Guanxiu's poetry was highly regarded by some literary critics. The Yuan (1271-1368) scholar Xin Wenfang 辛文房 (*fl.c.* 1304-1324) wrote in *TCZZ*, "Guanxiu had an air of straightforwardness unique within the state...He was gifted with quick wit, and his writing emitted an air of bravery and sharpness. His *yuefu* and ancient-style poetry was admired by his contemporaries...Truly he was outstanding among the monks, and few have been comparable to him since." [休一條直氣，海內無雙.....天賦敏速之

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[241] It is known that Guanxiu compiled his poems into a collection called *Xiyue ji* 西嶽集 (Western sacred mountain collection) before *Chanyue ji* was compiled. Guanxiu showed this collection to Wu Rong when Wu Rong was ready to depart from Jingzhou, and Wu Rong wrote a preface to it. Tanyu later compiled *Chanyue ji* and, presumably, included the works in *Xiyue ji* and Wu Rong's preface. Tanyu wrote an afterword for the completed compilation of *Chanyue ji*. See the textual study of *Xiyue ji* and *Chanyue ji* in Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Chanyue ji jieji ji qi banben liuchuan kao*《禪月集》結集及其版本流傳考 (A study of the editing of Chanyue collection and its later editions)," in *Wan Tang Wudai Bashu wenxue lun gao* 晚唐五代巴蜀文學論稿 (Essays on the Shu literature during the Late Tang and Wudai periods), ed. Fang Rui 房鋭, 224-35 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2005).

[242] During the Wudai period Guanxiu's three ballads were selected in the poetic anthology *Caidiao ji* 才調集 (Talent and style collection) compiled by Wei Hu 韋縠 (*fl.c.* 934-965). During the Song (960-1279) his works were selected in *Zhongmiao ji* 眾妙集 (*Various wonders collection*) compiled by Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀 (1156-1219), and this anthology only selected regulated verse. There were also about sixty Guanxiu's poems selected in *Tangseng Hongxiu ji* 唐僧弘秀集 (Tang monk Hongxiu collection) compiled firstly by the monk Hongxiu and later edited by Li Gong Li Gong 李龔 (b.1194) during the late Song. This anthology selected only monk *shi* poetry, and Guanxiu's works appeared in various poetic forms. During the Ming (1368-1644) about sixty of Guanxiu's poems were selected in *Tang bai jia shi* 唐百家詩 (Poetry of one hundred Tang poets) compiled by Zhu Jing 朱警 and three in *Tang shi jing* 唐詩鏡 (Tang poetry mirror) compiled by Lu Shiyong 陸時雍 (*fl.c.* 1633). During the Qing (1644-1912) Jin Shentan 金聖嘆 (1608-1661) also commented on several of Guanxiu's regulated verse in *Guanhua tang xuanpi Tang caizi shi* 貫華堂選批唐才子詩 (Commentaries on selective poems of the Tang talents in Guanhua library).

才，筆吐猛銳之氣，樂府古律，當時所宗……果僧中之一豪也，後少其比者。][243] The Qing scholar Yan Junshou 延君壽 (*fl.c.* 1736-1795) also considered Guanxiu as the best of the Tang poet-monks, "Guanxiu was great at the poetry of the three Tang periods... [Guanxiu] was the best of the poet-monks." [貫休詩是三唐好手……冠於諸僧也。][244]

Guanxiu was also an accomplished painter and calligrapher. His paintings of *luohan* 羅漢 (arhat)[245] were of his best known works which was listed in several historical notes of famous paintings such as *Yizhou ming hua lu* 益洲名畫錄 (Records of famous paintings in Yizhou)[246] and among the royal collection in the Song court.[247] In calligraphy, Guanxiu was known to have a distinct writing style which was named as *Jiang ti* 姜體 (Jiang style) after Guanxiu's lay family name.[248] Guanxiu's calligraphy works were also among the art collection of the Song court.[249]

Guanxiu had a large circle of friends and acquaintances. Much of his life was spent in roaming across the country between the monasteries. He mostly travelled in

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[243] *TCZZ*, 4: 442.

[244] *ZHDD*, 4: 842a.

[245] *Luohan* 羅漢 (arhat), originally meaning "worthy", is someone who fully completes the spiritual training and is able to cut away attachment, hatred and delusion.

[246] Huang Xiufu 黃休復, *Yizhou ming hua lu* 益洲名畫錄 (Records of famous paintings in Yizhou), in *Congshu jicheng xinbian* 叢書集成新編 (New edition of compilations of collectanea), ed. Xinwenfeng bianjibu 新文豐編輯部, 53: 216c-7a (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi 1986). It is said that Guanxiu would dream of the appearance of the arhat before he painted him. Wudai poet Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯 (895-971) wrote a poem *Guanxiu ying meng Luohan hua ge* 貫休應夢羅漢畫歌 (*Ballad of Guanxiu should dream of the Arhats for painting them*) to account the story. *QTS*, 11: 8638.

[247] *Xuanhe hua pu* 宣和畫譜 (Compilation of paintings of the Xuanhe period) in Ibid., 53: 255b.

[248] Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志 (Records of paintings seen and overheard), Ibid., 53: 166a.

[249] *Xuanhe shu pu* 宣和書譜 (Compilation of calligraphies of the Xuanhe period) in Ibid., 115: 630c-1a.

southern China,[250] more precisely the areas along the Yangtze River, and his social contacts were mostly with regional characters. Guanxiu's poems show that he associated with many regionally based literati such as Luo Yin 羅隱 (833-909) of the Wu and Yue area (about today's Zhejiang and Jiangsu), or the demoted officials from the capital to the regional government such as Wu Rong coming to Jingzhou (in today's Hubei) from Chang'an. Among Guanxiu's associations there were also hermit-scholars, Taoist monks, and, of course, many Buddhist colleagues he met in different monasteries. Guanxiu also had many contacts of the regional officials. There are 81 poems in *Chanyue ji* addressed to the local official Regional Inspectors (*shijun* 使君), and many poems indicate that he enjoyed a good relationship with several regional officials. For instance, *SGSZ* mentioned that Wang Zao 王慥 (d. 884), the Regional Inspector of Wuzhou 婺州 (in today's Zhejiang) during the early Qianfu 乾符 period (874-879),[251] was a close friend of Guanxiu,[252] and in *Chanyue ji* there are twenty poems addressed to Wang Zao.

Guanxiu not only wrote poetry to those he knew, he also wrote to those he intended to gain contact with. For instance, Guanxiu presented the poem *Shang Gu daifu* 上顧大夫 (Presenting to Grand Master Gu)[253] to request Grand Master Gu's opinions about his poetry. This social pattern was often seen in Guanxiu's social poems, in particular in those to the officials. *SGSZ* mentions that Guanxiu once wrote

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[250] Guanxiu had one poem *Ji bei han yue zuo* 薊北寒月作 (Composition in the cold moonlight in Jizhou in the North), *CYJ*, 354. Jizhou 薊州 was in today's Hebei province, and Guanxiu should have been in northern China once.

[251] Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Guanxiu shengping xinain* 貫休生平系年 (Chronology of Guanxiu's life)" *Sichuan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 四川師範學院學報 (Journal of Sichuan Teachers' College), no. 4 (1999): 114.

[252] *SGSZ*, 897a.

[253] *CYJ*, 102-3.

poems to the Military Commissioner Qian Liu 錢鏐 (852-932) of the Wu and Yue area, who became the king of the Wuyue state (907-978) during the Wudai period. As a result, Guanxiu gained Qian Liu's appreciation.[254] Guanxiu similarly wrote poems to Cheng Rui 成汭 (d. 903) in Jingzhou 荊州 and later to Wang Jian, the ruler of the Shu (in today's Sichuan), when he travelled to his domain.[255]

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[254] *SGSZ*, 897a. The account of Guanxiu and Qian Liu's interaction shows a few variations in the historical records, and its historical reliability is in question. *SGSZ* says that Guanxiu presented his poems to Qian Liu at the beginning the Qianning 乾寧 period (894-898). The modern scholar Mingfu argues that Guanxiu and Qian Liu never met because *Chanyue ji* does not have Guanxiu's poems to Qian Liu, and Guanxiu had left the Wu and Yue region by the year 896 according to the assertion in Guanxiu's poem *Ezhu zeng Xiang gong* 鄂渚贈祥公 (Presenting [a poem] to master Xiang from Ezhu). See Shi Mingfu 釋明復, "*Guanxiu chanshi shengping de tantao* 貫休禪師生平的探討 (A study of the life of the Chan monk Guanxiu)," 63. The other modern scholar Tian Daoying analyses all the accounts of Guanxiu and Qian Liu's encounter and concludes that Guanxiu had written to Qian Liu, for Guanxiu had stayed long in the Wu and Yue area and was always keen to socialize with the regional officials, and it would be very unusual if Guanxiu ignored a powerful regional official like Qian Liu controlling the area. However, Tian Daoying believes that *SGSZ* cites the year wrongly, and Guanxiu should have presented his poems to Qian Liu in the year 893 when Qian Liu was appointed the Military Commissioner of the Wu and Yue area. See Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Guanxiu yu Qian Liu Jiaowang kaobian* 貫休與錢鏐交往考辯 (A study of Guanxiu's association with Qian Liu)," *Leshan shifan xueyuan shuebao* 樂山師範學院學報 (Journal of Leshan Teachers College), no. 3 (2002): 56-91.

[255] There are several modern studies on Guanxiu's social contacts and on the chronological events of Guanxiu's life based on his social contacts. Luo Zongtao 羅宗濤 categorises Guanxiu's large amount of social poetry according to the addressee with a short summarized message of each poem in a conference article: Luo Zongtao 羅宗濤, "*Guanxiu yu Tang Wudai shiren jiaowang shi qian tan* 貫休與唐五代詩人交往詩淺談 (A slight discussion on Guanxiu's social poems to the Tang and Wudai poets)," in *Fojiao yu Zhongguo wenhua guoji xueshu huiyi* 佛教與中國文化國際學術會議 (Buddhism and Chinese culture international conference), (Taipei: Taiwan daxue foxue yanjiu zhongxin 台灣大學佛學研究中心 (The institute of the Buddhist studies in Taiwan university, 1995), 715-34. Zhang Hai 張海 gives a more detailed study of selected ten addressed poets in Guanxiu's social poems in Zhang Hai 張海, "*Guanxiu jiaoyou kaolüe* 貫休交遊考略 (A study of Guanxiu's friends and acquantances)," in *Wan Tang Wudai Bashu wenxue lun gao* 晚唐五代巴蜀文學論稿 (Essays on the Shu literature during the Late Tang and Wudai periods), ed. Fang Rui 房鋭, 211-23 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2005). With close cross-examinations with the addressee and content of Guanxiu's social poetry, Tian Daoying 田道英 is able to allocate Guanxiu's life and some poems with more precise location and time

Guanxiu's official career was only briefly mentioned both in Tanyu's afterword and Guanxiu's biography in *SGSZ*. During Guanxiu's stay in the Wu and Yue region Guanxiu was appointed by the Regional Inspector Jiang Huan 蔣慣 (*fl.c.* 884-892) to be the director of a local commandment altar during the year 884.[256] After he left the Wu and Yue area, he went to Jingzhou by the year 895 and wrote to Chen Rui.[257] Chen Rui received Guanxiu well initially and provided the Longxing 龍興 temple for Guanxiu's settlement. The Longxing temple was where Qiji lodged as Buddhist Chief of the Nanping state and should have been the local centre of the Buddhist communities. However, in the year 902[258] Guanxiu offended Chen Rui and was demoted (*chu* 黜)[259] and sent into exile. It is likely that Chen Rui appointed Guanxiu to an official post, but it is unclear how high the position was. In the year 903 Guanxiu arrived in Chengdu (the capital of the Shu area) and wrote the poem *Chengqing xian Shu huandi* 陳情獻蜀皇帝 (Expressing my thoughts to the Shu

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and has published his studies of Guanxiu's life in several articles. Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Guanxiu shengping xinain* 貫休生平系年 (Chronology of Guanxiu's life)," 112-6; Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Guanxiu shige xi'nian* 貫休詩歌系年 (Chronology of Guanxiu's poetry)," *Loshan shifang xueyuan xuebao* 樂山師範學院學報 (Journal of Loshan Normal College), no. 5 (2001): 49-57 and 65. Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Guanxiu Shu zhong shige biannian kaozheng* 貫休蜀中詩歌編年考證 (An examination of the chronology of Guanxiu's poems written in Shu region)," *Xinan minzhu xueyuan xuebao* 西南民族學院學報 (Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities), 22, no. 4 (2001): 152-4. This work is further edited to become a book section in Fang Rui 房鋭, ed., *Wan Tang Wudai Bashu wenxue lun gao* 晚唐五代巴蜀文學論稿 (Essays on the Shu literature during the Late Tang and Wudai periods) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe 2005), 241-9.

[256] *SGSZ*, 897a. Tian Daoying asserts the year of Jiang Huan's service in Wuzhou. Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Guanxiu shengping xinain* 貫休生平系年 (Chronology of Guanxiu's life)," 115.

[257] Ibid.

[258] Zhang Hai 張海, "*Guanxiu ru Shu kaolun* 貫休入蜀考論 (A study of Guanxiu's entry [and stay] in Sichuan)," *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao* 四川師範大學學報 (Journal of Sichuan Normal University), no. 4 (2002): 136.

[259] This character is used in *SGSZ* to describe Guanxiu being sent to exile.

emperor)[260] to present to the Shu Military Commissioner Wang Jian. Wang Jian appreciated Guanxiu's poem and received Guanxiu well. In Wang Jian's court, Guanxiu was appointed as a Buddhist Chief (*sengzheng* 僧正), the highest ecclesiastic position, and given the honorary title Chanyue Dashi. Guanxiu lived his last ten years with content in the Shu state and died in 912. After Guanxiu passed away, Wang Jian built a tower for Guanxiu and named it Bailian Ta 白蓮塔 (White Lotus Tower), which showed Guanxiu's significance in the Shu court.[261]

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[260] *CYJ*, 406-7. This poem was written in the year 902, when Wang Jian was still a Military Commissioner of the Shu region according to Xue Juzheng 薛居正, *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (Old Wudai history) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 6: 1815-9. The title of this poem was probably changed to *Shu huangdi* 蜀皇帝 (the Shu emperor) after Wang Jian proclaimed kingship in the year 907.

[261] Wang Jian's reception of Guanxiu is mentioned in Tanyu's afterword, but Tanyu did not mention Guanxiu's encounters with Qian Liu and Chen Rui. *SGSZ*, however, accounts for Guanxiu's contacts with the three military commissioners' treatment of Guanxiu.

3.2.2. Life of Qiji

Qiji was born in the year 864[262], and his lay family name was Hu Desheng 胡得生.[263] He was a native from Changsha 長沙 (in today's Hunan) near Dongting 洞庭 Lake.[264] According to *TCZZ*, Qiji was a precocious child and at the age of seven by Chinese reckoning he could already scratch verse on the back of the cattle when he was herding for the Buddhist temple in Mt. Dagui 大潙山 (in today's Hunan).[265] The

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[262] Shi Mingfu's article "*Tangdai Qiji chanshi yu qi Bailian ji* 唐代齊己禪師與其白蓮集 (Tang Chan monk Qiji and his Bailian ji)" is a pilot study on Qiji's life and work collection, but he did not allocate Qiji's birth and death year. Shi Mingfu 釋明復, "*Tangdai Qiji chanshi yu qi Bailian ji* 唐代齊己禪師與其白蓮集 (Tang Chan monk Qiji and his White lotus collection)," *Zhongguo fojiao* 中國佛教 (Chinese Buddhism), no. 2 (1982), 11-3. This study is also helpful in understanding Qiji's Buddhist learning. Cao Xun 曹汛, "*Qiji sheng zu nian kaozheng* 齊己生卒年考證 (A textual study of the birth year and death year of Qiji)," in *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 (Essays on Chinese literature and history), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 180. Deng Xinyue 鄧新躍 also publishes a similar study and makes the same conclusion with Cao Xun that Qiji was born in the year 864 and died in the year 943. Deng Xinyao 鄧新躍, "*Qiji sheng zu nian kaozheng* 齊己生卒年考證 (A textual study of the birth year and death year of Qiji)," *Yiyang shizhuan xuebao* 益陽師專學報 (Journal of Yiyang Teachers' College), no. 3 (2000), 73

[263] Ji Yougong recorded Qiji's full lay name as Hu Desheng 胡得生 in *Tang shi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (Records of Tang poetry), *juan* 75. *TCZZ*, 4: 174, note.

[264] There are two records about the birth location of Qiji. One was Changsha according to Sun Guangxian's preface of *Bailian ji*, and the other was Yiyang 益陽 according to *SGSZ*. Both locations were near Dongting Lake. I follow Sun Guangxian's account for two reasons. One was Sun Guangxian was a good friend of Qiji in Jingzhou and should know Qiji's background personally. The other reason is based on the discussion on Qiji's birth location in *TCZZ*. *TCZZ* includes most of the important primary sources on this issue with a convincing argument to conclude that Qiji was born in Changsha. See *TCZZ*, 4: 173-174.

[265] Ibid. Besides Fu Xuancong's *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian*, modern scholar Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 also cross-examines other historical resources and Qiji's social poems to correct the historical faults in the biography of Qiji in the unnotated *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳 (Biographies of the Tang talents). Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, "*Tang caizi zhuan: Qiji zhuan shuzheng* 《唐才子傳□齊己傳》 疏證 (A study on the biography of Qiji in Biographies of the Tang talents)," *Yiyang shizhuan xuebao* 益陽師專學報 (Journal of Yiyang Teachers' College), 17, no. 1 (1996): 30-1 and 63.

monks were surprised at his talent and persuaded him to become a monk.[266] Mt. Dagui was the base of the Guiyang Chan school (潙仰宗) established by Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (771-853) and followed by Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (804-890). Throughout his life Qiji remained within the Chan school. According to his poems, Qiji had contacts with monks reciting *Fahua jing*,[267] but he did not seem particularly interested in non-Chan Buddhist teachings and remained a Chan monk throughout his life.

Qiji showed a strong interest in poetic art at a young age and continued his poetic studies in the monasteries. He was prolific in writing poetry throughout his life. After he passed away, his disciple Xiwen collected and compiled Qiji's works into *Bailian ji* 白蓮集 (White lotus collection) and requested Sun Guangxian to write a preface for the collection. Qiji's poems were not selected in the poetry anthologies compiled during the Late Tang and Wudai periods. This indicates that Qiji's poems might have been less highly regarded than Guanxiu's by their contemporaries. After the Wudai period, however, Qiji's poems were in general selected along with Guanxiu's works in the anthologies.[268] Moreover, several literary critics considered Qiji to have been the best of the Tang poet-monks. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) said, "Qiji was the best of the Tang poet-monks. Zhushan (Jiaoran) actually could not compare to him." [唐詩僧以

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[266] Ibid.; Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, and Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶, eds. *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi: wang tang juan* 唐五代文學編年史: 晚唐卷 (A chronological history of the Tang and Wudai literature: Late Tang period), 574.

[267] See the poem *Zeng chi Fahua jing seng* 贈持法華經僧 (Presenting [a poem] to the monk who recites Fahua jing), *BLJ, juan* 10: 200; *QTS*, 12: 9587.

[268] Qiji's sixty poems appeared in *Tangseng Hongxiu ji* during the Song, and in *Tang bai jia shi* and two in *Tang shi jing* during the Ming. Jin Shengtan also commented on several of his poems in *Guanhua tang xuanpi Tang caizi shi* during the Qing.

齊己爲第一，杼山實不及。][269] The Qing scholar Xu Feng'en 許奉恩 (*fl.c.* 1874)[270] also held Qiji superior to other two Tang poet-monks, "Zhushan [Jiaoran] and Chanyue [Guanxiu] are side by side from toe to shoulder, but only Bailian [Qiji] does not have a worldly air." [杼山禪月足隨肩，不染塵氛惟白蓮。][271] Qiji's poetry was much more treasured by the readers after the Wudai period.

Like Guanxiu, much of Qiji's life was also spent in roaming across the country between different monasteries, and his poems on travelling generally show that he enjoyed this lifestyle. *TCZZ* describes that Qiji "travelled to the rivers, the seas and the famous mountains. He visited Yueyang 嶽陽 (in today's Hunan) and gazed at the Dongting lake...He stayed in Chang'an for several years. He went sightseeing over Mt. Zhongnan (in today's Shaanxi), Mt. Zhongtiao (in today's Shanxi) and Mt. Taihua (in today's Shaanxi)." [遊江海名山，登嶽陽，望洞庭.....來長安數載，遍覽中南、條、華之勝。][272] Qiji's poems verify that he had been to most of these places and was indeed a great traveller.[273] In the year 921,[274] on his way to Sichuan, Qiji was detained in Jingzhou by Gao Jixing 高季興 (858-929) where Gao Jixing later established the state Nanping (924-963). Qiji was forced to accept the post of Buddhist Chief in the Longxing Temple. He was not happy about this coerced stay in Jingzhou and wrote several poems to Gao Jixing stating his wish to leave Jingzhou

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[269] *ZHDD*, 4: 1170b.

[270] The life of Xu Feng'en was not clear. His known achievement is the story collection *Licheng* 里乘 completed in the year 1874.

[271] *ZHDD*, 4: 1171b.

[272] *TCZZ*, 4: 176-8.

[273] Ibid. The notations of this passage in *TCZZ* use Qiji's poems to verify that Qiji visited most of the mentioned places with an exception that Qiji's visit to Mt. Zhongtiao is still in question.

[274] Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Qiji xingnian kaoshu* 齊己行年考述 (A textual study of the life of Qiji in chronological order)," 225.

and return to his old monasteries.[275] However, Gao Jixing did not allow Qiji to leave Jingzhou, and Qiji stayed and eventually died in Jingzhou approximately around the year 943.[276]

Like Guanxiu, Qiji also had many different social contacts: lay literati, hermit-scholars, Taoist and Buddhist monks and officials.[277] However, compared to Guanxiu, Qiji was less keen to contact the regional officials; for example, Qiji had only one poem in *Bailian ji* written to a Regional Inspector Wu[278] in contrast to Guanxiu's eighty-one poems to the Regional Inspectors. Guanxiu would write to the scholar-officials and humbly ask their opinions about his poetry as a means of initial contact; Qiji rarely depreciated himself in the poems to the officials. Connections with the officials were often a sign of one's interest in an official career. Qiji, however, was in

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[275] See, for example, *Jingzhou Xinqiu si xie huai shi wu shou shang Nanping wang* 荊州新秋寺居寫懷詩五首上南平王 (At early autumn in Jingzhou, lodging at the temple, writing about my thought in five poems to the Nanping king), *BLJ*, 8: 168ab; *QTS*, 12: 9559.

[276] Cao Xun 曹汛, "*Qiji sheng zu nian kaozheng* 齊己生卒年考證 (A textual study of the birth year and death year of Qiji)," 180. There are several studies done on Qiji's life. Xie Yaoan 謝曜安 reconstructs Qiji's life and studies the poet-monk's literary works in his master dissertation *Qiji shi yanjiu* 齊己詩研究 (A study of the poetry of Qiji). Xie Yaoan 謝曜安, "*Qiji shi yanjiu* 齊己詩研究 (A study of the poetry of Qiji)" (MA dissertation, National Kaohsiung Normal University, 2000), 46-89. Tian Daoying cross-examines various historical resources on Qiji's life to establish the poet-monk's biography in a chronological order. Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Qiji xingnian kaoshu* 齊己行年考述 (A textual study of the life of Qiji in chronological order)," 221-6.

[277] Tian Daoying studied the addressee in Qiji's social poems in Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Qiji jiaoyou kao* 齊己交遊考 (A textual criticism of Qiji's friends and acquantances)," *Sichuan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 四川師範學院學報 (Journal of Sichuan Teachers College), no. 2 (2003): 113-7. Xie Yaoan also compiled the addressee appearing in Qiji's poems and explicates some social poems to people of various social background. Xie Yaoan 謝曜安, "*Qiji shi yanjiu* 齊己詩研究 (A study of the poetry of Qiji)," 97-131.

[278] *Ji Liyang Wu shijun* 寄澧陽吳使君 (Sending [a poem] to Inspector Wu at Liyang), *BLJ, juan* 8: 172a; *QTS*, 12: 9563.

general did not appear keen to have an official career.

The general pictures of Guanxiu and Qiji's religious career and poetic studies are similar: they were both admitted to Buddhist monasteries at a young age; they started writing poetry precociously and became renowned for it; they both received Chan Buddhist teachings; they were great travellers and made various sorts of contacts with their poems; finally, they were both appointed to the highest monk-official post, Buddhist Chief, in the regional states. However, they viewed the relationship between their poetry writing, religious career and socio-political realities differently. Nevertheless, they both claimed a close relation between their poetry writing and religious studies.

3.3. Monk *Shi* Poetry for Socio-Political Purposes, or Not?

As previously mentioned, some modern studies view Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on socio-political issues as an indication of their intention for political involvement or, more precisely, for an official post. This section studies the poet-monks' views on the relationship between their Buddhist responsibilities to socio-politics and their poetry writing. I further investigate, in spite of the poet-monks' differences, if there was a common purpose in Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry writing as external learning.

3.3.1. Guanxiu's attitude towards socio-politics and monk-officialdom

Guanxiu's poems express his view that Buddhist teachings were not contradictory to the Confucian ideal governing. In the poem *He Wei Xianggong jianshi xianwo* 和韋相公見示閑臥 (Reply to a poem 'Lying down at leisure' Minister Duke Wei showed me in the same rhyme) Guanxiu wrote in the ending couplet, "Do

not say how significant your regret is; the world of Yao is the world of Brahmadeva." [休說慙如撻，堯天即梵天。][279] Brahmadeva is the first three levels of eighteen heavens of the realm of the form, and Brahmā is its ruler. Guanxiu considered the ruling of a sage king like Yao 堯 equal to the ruling of Brahmā. The same idea appears in several poems that Guanxiu wrote to his benefactor Wang Jian. Guanxiu was well received by Wang Jian after being sent into exile by Cheng Rui, and Wang Jian appointed Guanxiu to the highest monk-official post of his state. Naturally, Guanxiu's poems to Wang Jian did not lack flattery, and in these poems Guanxiu often equated Wang Jian with the sage king Yao or Shun 舜, and praised that Wang Jian was able to put both Confucian and Buddhist ideal ruling into practice. Below is one of Guanxiu's poems as an example.

On Shouchun Day I present seven poems	壽春進祝聖七首
as a compliment to his majesty—great promoting the three teachings	大興三教[280]
From the darkness to the light the Buddha sun is hung [in the sky;]	曈曈懸佛日，
The lovely clouds move in the grand firmament.	天俣動雲韶。
The scholars wearing clothes of wide sleeves gather together;	逢掖諸生集，
The Taoists from Lingzhou come to the audience.	麟洲羽客朝。
The smoke-less clouds grow out of the jade stairs;[281]	非煙生玉砌，
The royal willows spit off golden threads.	御柳吐金條。
The old man beating the soil[282] knows it or not?	擊壤翁知否，

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[279] *CYJ*, 263-5.

[280] *CYJ*, 370.

[281] *Feiyan* 非煙 means an smoke-less aspiration, customarily regarded as a sign of luck.

[282] *Jirang wong* 擊壤翁 (The old man beating the soil) is an allusion to the peaceful ruling of the Yao governance. "During king Yao's ruling, the world was peaceful, and the people did not have [official] work to do. There was an old man hitting the soil and sang, 'Work when the sun rises; rest when the sun comes down. Dig the well and drink; farm the field and eat. How is the king's governance of anything to me!'" [帝堯之世，天下太和，百姓無事。有老人擊壤而歌曰：「日出而作，日入而息，鑿井而飲，耕田而食，帝力何有於我哉！」] Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢, *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Collection of literature arranged by categories) (Taipei: Wenguang chubanshe, 1974), 1:214.

My king is just like the sage king Yao. 吾皇即帝堯。

It is worth attention that Guanxiu wrote this poem not to singularly promote the Buddhist teaching, but three teachings—Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist—together under Wang Jian's rule. The first couplet already praises Wang Jian's governing. The word *fori* 佛日 in the first line, literally "Buddha sun", means Buddha, whose great compassion is like the sun and brings light to the dark world. The word *shao* 韶 in the second line as an adjective means lovely; as a noun it is the music allegedly composed by the sage king Shun, symbolizing Shun's capable governance. With these two allusions Guanxiu compares Wang Jian's ruling to Buddha's overseeing the world compassionately and to the sage king Shun's capable governance. In the second couplet Guanxiu mentions that the followers of the Confucian and Taoist teachings also gather harmoniously together in the audience of king Wang Jian. The third couplet describes the scenes of luck on a great occasion. The final couplet praises the ruling of Wang Jian as like that of the sage king Yao. In this poem Guanxiu places the "Buddha sun" in the sky and people of other teachings underneath its light, symbolically placing Buddhist teaching higher than the others. However, Guanxiu does not exclude other teachings from the king's audience, and he put stress on a harmonious co-existence of all three teachings. The final couplet "my king is just like the sage king Yao" reminds us the previously quoted couplet "the world of Yao is the world of Brahmā." From Guanxiu's viewpoint, the Confucian and the Buddhist ideal rulings are the same. The king Wang Jian should recognise that the ideal governance is not upheld only by the Confucian teachings, but also by Buddhism. Therefore, the Buddhists could make a positive political contribution.

In Guanxiu's view, a Buddhist monk was also an imperial subject who should

share a responsibility to help the ruler govern the country. Guanxiu wrote in the second of the series *Guyi jiu shou zhi er* 古意九首 (Nine poems of ancient intents), "I originally work with thatch raincoat and hat;[283] from my childhood I have learned about the emperor his Majesty. I study to write poetry like *Shi jing* of Mao's tradition; there are many plain and simple words [in my poems]." [我本事蓑笠，幼知天子尊。學爲毛氏詩，亦多直致言。][284] In these two couplets Guanxiu explains that he may be a monk following the foreign religion, but he also has learned about the meaning of having an emperor and *Shi jing* 詩經 (*Classic of poetry*), one of the core of Chinese cultural learning, since childhood. Guanxiu being a Buddhist monk does not withhold his loyalty to the ruler. In the last line Guanxiu stresses the language characteristics: "Plain and simple" are the characteristics of *feng* 風 (airs) poetry in comparison to the *ya* 雅 (odes) and *song* 頌 (hymns) poetry in *Shi jing*. Guanxiu's writing poems with plain words implies his intention to continue the *feng* poetry tradition. According the interpretation of *feng* poetry in *Shi da xu* 詩大序 (*Great preface of Shi jing*), *feng* poetry has a strong political function:

> By *feng* poetry (airs) those above transform those below; also by *feng* poetry (airs) those below criticize those above. When an admonition is given that is governed by patterning (*wen*), the one who speaks it has no culpability, yet it remains adequate to warn those who hear it. In this we have *feng*.
> 上以風化下，下以風刺上，主文而譎諫，言之者無罪，聞之者足以戒，故曰風。[285]

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[283] *Suoli* 蓑笠 (raincoat and rain hat) usually means the farmer's clothes. However, Guanxiu seems to use this term to mean his monk clothes as he wrote in the poem *Bie Du jiangjun* 別杜將軍 (Parting with General Du), "I incidentally wear the raincoat and rain hat to serve the King of Emptiness (Buddha)." [偶披蓑笠事空王], *CYJ*, 123-4.

[284] *CYJ*, 22-3.

[285] Stephen Owen's translation with some moderation. Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University, 1992), 46. *Shi da xu* had been regarded as the Confucian orthodox principles of *shi* poetry in general, and its authority was affirmed continuously by Confucian scholars.

Given that Guanxiu related his poetry writing to the emperor, he was likely to write poetry for political purposes. Other than continuing the function of *feng* poetry, Guanxiu also mentioned in other poems that he wrote poetry to follow the tradition of *ya* poetry in *Shi jing*, for example, "For one year in the room of single door, I only work on greater and lesser odes (*ya* poetry)," [一載獨扃扉，唯爲二雅詩。][286] Or, "Greater and lesser odes (*ya* poetry) and two mysteries, I take pleasure in them quietly." [二雅兼二密，愔愔祗自怡。][287] According to *Shi da xu*, *ya* poetry was also an important means to admonish the political affairs.

> Thus the affairs of a single state, rooted in [the experience of] a single person are called *feng*. To speak of the affairs of the whole world and to describe customs (*feng*) common to all places is called *ya* (odes). *Ya* means "proper" (*zheng*). These show the source of either flourishing or ruin in the royal government. Government has its greater and lesser aspects; thus we have a "Greater odes (*ya* poetry)" and a "Lesser odes (*ya* poetry)."
> 是以一國之事，系一人之本，謂之風；言天下之事，形四方之風，謂之雅。雅者，正也，言王政之所由廢興也。政有大小，故有小雅焉，有小雅焉。[288]

The quoted passage shows that *feng* and *ya* poetry could reflect and comment as the socio-political issues, and therefore serve to improve the state ruling. Guanxiu was indeed enthusiastic about the admonishing function of poetry. In the poem *Ji Feng shijun* 寄馮使君 (Sending [a poem] to Regional Inspector Feng) Guanxiu mentions, "I write literary works to imitate the poem *Fengjiang* 諷諫 (*Admonition*);[289] enlightenment lies on a thin [balance]. The Governor of Tongjiang alone often

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[286] *Ou zuo* 偶作 (Occasional composition), *CYJ*, 171-2.

[287] *Ti Hongshi heshang yuan jian cheng Du shijun* 題弘式和尙院兼呈杜使君 (Scribing at the yard of monk Hongshi and also presenting it to the Regional Inspector Du), *CYJ*, 298.

[288] Stephen Owen's translation with some moderation. Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 48-9.

[289] *Fengjiang* is Bai Juyi's poem. See the quoted passages, p. 93 and 213-4.

appreciates that my ambition is not humble." [爲文攀諷諫，得道在毫釐。唯有桐江守，常憐志不卑。][290] Based on this poem, Guanxiu clearly means to write *shi* poetry for political admonition. Guanxiu did not view his Buddhist identity as an obstacle to making a contribution to socio-politics, and his political intention was part of his agenda of his poetry writing.

It is noteworthy in the quoted poems above that Guanxiu not only exhibited a political ambition but also attempted to insert himself among the great poets who expressed a similar ambition in the previous time. Guanxiu's ancient-styled poems *Guyi jiu shou* are influenced by the tradition of *Yonghuai shi* 詠懷詩 (*Poems of my thoughts*) of Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210-263). Like Ruan Ji's poems, Guanxiu's nine poems are titled by the first line of the poem, and they neither have a fixed sequence nor a united theme. In each poem the poet is inspired by something comes into his sight or mind and follows the inspiration to write the poem, which is an important character of Ruan Ji's poems.[291] Ruan Ji's poems had a great influence on several Tang poets such as Chen Ziang 陳子昂 (659-700), Li Bo 李白 (c. 701-762) and Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678-740), who also wrote poems following the writing style of *Yonghui shi*.[292] Their poems to a certain degree express a similar self-frustration in the political arena. Guanxiu's *Guyi jiu shou* also followed the writing style of *Yonghui shi*, but a general hopeful attitude sets a different tone from his precedent poets' works. Guanxiu believed that his virtues could exert a positive influence in politics. He wrote in one of

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[290] *CYJ*, 212.

[291] See the introduction to the general characters of Ruan Ji's poems in Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩, *Ruan Ji Yonghuai shi jianglu* 阮籍詠懷詩講錄 (*Records of the talks on Ruan Ji's Poems of my thoughts*) (Taipei: Guiguan tushu, 2000), 15-18.

[292] Ibid.

the nine poems, "I have a pair of white jade which Minister Yu would not envy.[293] I have a half-cun pearl,[294] and is it not the essence of Heaven and Earth? The room becomes lightened when I appreciate it, and I feel at ease and comfortably light." [我有雙白璧，不羨於虞卿。我有徑寸珠，別是天地精。玩之室生白，蕭灑身安輕。][295] The pair of white jade, the reward of Minister Yu in the Warring States period, is a token of one's talent and virtue. Pearl is also often used as an emblem of one's talent or virtue in obscurity.[296] This pearl would shine once it is taken out to be appreciated, an analogy to a virtuous man being hired to official service. Guanxiu's jade and pearl suggests his hidden virtues and his desire of official service. Jade and pearl also appeared in Chen Ziang's poems, but Chen Ziang showed a passive view to one's talent and virtue: "The virtuous man is not always appreciated, and his fortune of admiration lasts a short moment. Do not let the jade-like heart search for the moon-pearl. The one once is called "the fortunate"[297] is now a rice-thrasher in the market." [貴人難得意，賞愛在須臾。莫以心如玉，探他明月珠。昔稱夭桃子，今爲舂市徒。][298] Guanxiu's optimistic attitude about his virtuous influence on politics was a strong contrast to the literati's pessimism, and this characteristic made his poems on career ambition different from literati poetry.

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[293] *Yu qing* 虞卿 (Minister Yu), whose real name was unknown, was a strategist during the Warring States period. He served in the Zhao state and was rewarded a pair of white jade at his first meeting with the Zhao king.

[294] *Cun* 寸 is a measure unit of length. One *cun* was approximately 3 cm in the Tang.

[295] *CYJ*, 21.

[296] Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs: A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art through the Ages*, 319-20.

[297] *Taoyao* 桃夭 (peach-flourishing) refers to a poem in *Classic of Poetry* and is used to mean someone bearing a good fortune like a strong peach tree blossoming many flowers.

[298] The 15th of thirty eight poems of *Ganyu shi* 感遇詩 (Poems of the thoughts on my experience). *QTS*, 2: 891

Guanxiu was interested in contributing his political influence as a Buddhist monk and keen about an official career. In Guanxiu's poems to the local officials one could see that the poet-monk was keen to offer his service to the official friends. Wang Zao, as mentioned previously, was the regional inspector of Wuzhou (in today's Zhejiang) during the early Qianfu period (874-879).[299] Guanxiu once wrote a poem *Xunli qu shang Wang shijun* 循吏曲上王使君 (A song of a good functionary presenting to Regional Inspector Wang)[300] and praised Wang Zao for his virtuous governing:

Xunü constellation, Xunü constellation,[301]	需宿需宿，
Bright and shining light come together.	炳爛光合。
All the people in Wuzhou	蒸蒸婺民，
Gather to this great luck.	鍾此多福。
From the East, from the West;	自東自西，
From the South; from the North,	自南自北。
Those that fly and those that walk	伊飛伊走，
Are under the nurture of the good herdsman.	乳乳良牧。
The air of peace is formless;	和氣無形，
Spring light comes into being on its own.	春光自成。
The great trustworthiness does not lie in the words of promise;[302]	大信不信，
Leave the lesson to the later generations.	貽厥無朕。
Xunü constellation, Xunü constellation,	需女需女，
You should also talk.	爾亦須語。
The Regional Inspector practices the rules of Nature;	使君爲理，
The actless ruling is great in comparison to the ancient time.	玄風震古。
Xunü constellation, Xunü constellation,	需女需女，
You should also talk about it.	爾亦須語。
I would like to [be like a bird and] grow my beak over three thousand li,	我願喙長三千里，
Lying on the jade stairs and tell the wise ruler [about your good governance.]	枕著玉階奏明主。

[299] See relevant discussion, p. 112.

[300] *CYJ*, 46-7.

[301] *Xu* 需 is a variant of the character *xu* 須, therefore *xusu* 需宿 is *xu(nü)su* 須(女)宿 (Xunü constellation).

[302] This line means that great trustworthiness lies in deeds more than words.

This poem spends a lengthy space praising Wang Zao's good government. Guanxiu insists that Wang Zao's works should be made known to the people and the emperor. At the end of the poem Guanxiu offers his service to deliver the news to the emperor for Wang Zao. By offering his service to a local chief who was able to appoint the monk-official posts,[303] Guanxiu expresses his desire for an official career. Guanxiu's pursuit of an official career was ultimately realized in the court of Wang Jian. In the year 902 Guanxiu arrived in Shu region (today's Sichuan) and looked for protection by Wang Jian. The poet-monk wrote a poem to offer his service to Wan Jian:

Expressing my thoughts to the Shu emperor	陳情獻蜀皇帝[304]
Disasters are everywhere in the north of the Yellow river and the east of the Yangzi River.	河北江東處處災，
I heard that only the Shu has no dust.	唯聞全蜀勿塵埃。
With a bottle and a bowl, I am gradually getting old;	一缾一缽垂垂老，
Over a thousand waters and mountains I come especially here.	千水千山得得來。
The retreat of a Qin garden, the scenery is beautiful;	秦苑幽棲多勝景，
Present the folksong of the Ba area; I regret not having the talent.[305]	巴歈陳貢愧非才。
I am embarrassed that a old man [like me] from the countryside,	自慚林藪龍鐘者，
Also has the opportunity to ascend the terrace of Guo Wei.	亦得親登郭隗臺。

In the first couplet Guanxiu praises that the Shu region is well governed under Wang Jian. "No dust in Shu" symbolises that the Shu region is not disturbed by wars. The second couplet describes Guanxiu's old age and the efforts he takes to come to the Shu. Guanxiu praises the beautiful scenery in Shu and was demure about his talent in

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[303] Regional Inspectors could appoint local monk-officials. See *zhiguan zhi* 職官志 (record of the officials) in *JTS*, 6 : 1919.

[304] *CYJ*, 406-7.

[305] The folksong *Xiali ba ren* 下里巴人 (Ba people of Xiali) was traditionally regarded as vulgar in contrast to the elegant music of *Yangchun baixue* 陽春白雪 (White snow at the warm spring) which only the intellectual would know. See footnote 527.

the third couplet. In the final couplet Guanxiu compares himself to the political tactician Guo Wei 郭隗 (d. u.) in the Warring States period (453-221 BC). Guo Wei offered his service to the king of the Wei state and said if an ordinary tactician like him could be used by the Wei king, this would attract the more able people to serve the king, too.[306] Using Guo Wei's story as an example, Guanxiu expresses his wish to be of service in Wang Jian's court and hopefully create a political effect like Guo Wei's. Wang Jian gladly received Guanxiu and appointed him a Buddhist Chief, the highest monk-official post.[307] Guanxiu showed his gratitude in the twenty-six poems dedicated to Wang Jian during his stay in Shu, and all these poems were full of praise for Wang Jian. Guanxiu's ambition for an official career was relevant to his attitude towards socio-politics. Although gaining an official might not be the only purpose of Guanxiu's poetry writing, it was part of his agenda.

3.3.2. Qiji's attitude towards socio-politics and monk-officialdom

In Qiji's view, the government was a managing authority of the monastic communities, and what the monks should mind is their religious duties. The poem below expresses this view:

Seeing off three or five newly ordained monks from the Wu region to return home with encouragement　勉送吳國三五新戒歸[308]

The Dharma King's bequeathed regulations were entrusted to the benevolent king;[309]　法王遺制付仁王，

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[306] Liu Xiang 劉向. *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Strategies of the Warring Kingdoms period) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 3: 1066.

[307] *SGZ*, 2 : 749.

[308] *BLJ, juan* 10: 209b-10a; *QTS*, 12: 9594.

[309] *Renwang* 仁王 (Sankrit title unknown) was an mythical ancient king of the sixteen countries in India, and it was said that Buddha dictated *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 仁王般若波羅蜜經. The source

The monastic codes are difficult to obtain and hard to observe, and the numbers of *kalpa*[310] are many.	難得難持劫數長。
If you work hard and persist to observe them,	努力只須堅守護，
Three thousand dharma and eighty thousand methods will shield your observation of the monastic codes like the city walls.	三千八萬是垣牆。

Qiji wrote this poem on seeing off newly ordained monks. In this poem Qiji encourages them to observe the monastic codes faithfully. In the poem the government only takes the role to ordain theses monks and does not interfere the monks' religious studies.

Was Qiji entirely indifferent to politics and statecraft? Qiji certainly cared about the general welfare of the people, but loyalty was rarely seen in his poems. Below is a poem of Qiji's contemplation about the changes of the world:

Composing in the moonlight	月下作[311]
This beautiful night is like a pure day;[312]	良夜如清晝，
The hermit is in the small courtyard.	幽人在小庭。
The constellations bend across the sky;	滿空垂列宿，
Which one is the Literary Star?	那箇是文星。
To whom should the people in the world belong?	世界歸誰是，
My spirit is always at peace.	心魂向自寧。
When should I see [a ruler like] Yao and Shun?	何當見堯舜，
They can nurture the life [of the people] again.	重爲造生靈。

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of this sutra is obscure, but the content of this sutra relates to how the rulers of the countries should use thier influence to protect and manage Buddhism. See William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition: from earliest times to 1600, vol. 1* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 477-80.

[310] *Kalpa*, translated in Chinese as *jie* 劫, is a great period of time, a period of four hundred and thirty-two million years of mortals, measuring the duration of the world.

[311] *BLJ*, *juan* 3: 70b; *QTS*, 12: 9477.

[312] The moonlight shone so brightly that the night felt like the day.

It is uncertain when he wrote this poem. However, the fifth line "To whom should the people in the world belong?" suggested that the Tang might have fallen, and the world was without a master. At the end of this poem Qiji does not assert that the world should belong to the Tang government, but only wishes for someone who would be as wise and benevolent as the sage kings Yao and Shun to put the world in order. The poet-monk is concerned about the society suffering under political unrest, but there is little loyalty to a particular government.

Qiji had a complicated attitude towards officialdom. In general Qiji discouraged other poet-monks from studying poetry for an official post and regarded officialdom as essentially a worldly temptation seducing a Buddhist monk to leave the clergy. The poem below is an example presenting Qiji's view of officialdom.

Answering a Chan monk	答禪者[313]
When we meet in front of the Wulao peak,	五老峰前相遇時，
None of us speaks, and we only raise our eyebrows.	兩無言語只揚眉。
The southern school and northern masters are all like this;	南宗北祖皆如此，
Who would we ask in heaven and on earth?	天上人間更問誰。
Patches of clouds quietly attach to my the mountain monk robe;	山衲靜披雲片片，
Each hair on my temple is shaven by a chilling iron knife.	鐵刀涼削鬢絲絲。
If you recite poetry in leisure, do not imitate Retainer Tang;	閑吟莫學湯從事，
He abandoned his monk robe and failed the original teacher.	拋卻袈裟負本師。

Qiji was a monk of the Guiyang Chan school. The first two couplets describe how Qiji met with another Chan monk and performed the Chan rituals to silently raise their eyebrows. The third couplet conveys how Qiji lives as a Buddhist monk. In the final couplet Qiji particularly reminds the Chan monk not to take example of Huixiu, who

[313] *BLJ, juan* 9: 182b; *QTS*, 12: 9572.

abandon Buddha the original teacher and became a lay official.[314] Qiji did not object to a monk being famous for his literary talent; he still praises Tang Huixiu as a *shiseng* 詩僧 (poet-monk),[315] but encourages the Chan monk not to study poetry for an official post and then leave the clergy. However, although Qiji saw it as inappropriate for a monk to leave the clergy for an official career, he did not particularly object other monks becoming monk-officials, and there were several monk-officials among his friends, including Guanxiu. Qiji never showed any disagreement about their official posts in his poems to them. Qiji's complicated attitude was grounded in a consideration of the welfare of Buddhist clergy: Buddhist monks should not study external learning merely for worldly success and leave the clergy once they succeeded; but those who gained worldly success could still contribute to Buddhist communities if they remain in the clergy. Essentially a Buddhist monk's success was not entirely personal but also beneficent to the general Buddhist community.

Qiji's poems portray his own image as a Buddhist monk keeping a distance from politics, and he did not write poetry to gain an official post. The poem below shows that Qiji is not interested in relating this study to an official career.

Reciting my elation and giving an account of myself	吟興自述[316]
Past habits and formed impetus are not all for vain purposes;	前習都由未盡空，
I know since birth that the elegant study is immensely wonderful.	生知雅[317]學妙難窮。

[314] See relevant discussion at the thesis footnote 59.

[315] Qiji wrote in the poem *Xunyang dao zhong zuo* 尋陽道中作 (Composition on the road of Xunyang), "I intend to go to [the south where] the Southern Dynasties [were]; there was Huixiu who was *shiseng*." [欲向南朝去，詩僧有惠休。] *BLJ*, *juan* 3: 76b; *QTS*, 12: 9482.

[316] *BLJ*, *juan* 8: 176a; *QTS*, 12: 9566.

[317] This character is *wan* 頑 (stubborn) in *BLJ*, but *ya* 雅 (elegant) in the *QTS* version. "Elegant" is more likely to describe poetry than "stubborn". It is likely to be a wrong transcription in *BLJ*.

I wrote a thousand poems beyond sorrows;	一千首出悲哀外，
Fifty years I have spent in the snow and moonlight.	五十年銷雪月中。
After the interest is gone, I can return to my quiet thoughts;	興去不妨歸靜慮，
When the feelings come, how can I just stop describing it honestly?	情來何止發真風。
I have never used a word for fame and gains;	曾無一字干聲利，
How can I be ashamed in front of the master of examination who worried about being partial?	豈愧操心負至公。

Qiji admits in the first couplet that writing poetry is his personal interest. The middle two couplets describe Qiji's enthusiastic study of poetry. The last couplet makes it clear that Qiji does not write poetry for a political ambition. *Zhigong* 至公 is the judge of the state examination who issues the qualification to enter officialdom, and Qiji's little care of the judge's opinion shows that he does not care for an official post.

Although he was consistent in his attitude not to write poetry for an official career, he eventually was appointed as Buddhist Chief in Jingzhou, later the Nanping state in the Wudai period.[318] Was Qiji's claim of distance from politics therefore, after all, pretence? The answer is no: Qiji's poems that were composed in Jingzhou constantly express his bitterness about his coerced stay in the Nanping state and his great desire to leave Jingzhou and return to his old monasteries. Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (c. 900-968), who served in the Nanping court and was a good friend of Qiji, wrote in the preface of *Bailian ji* that Jingzhou was not the destination of Qiji's trip:

> [Qiji] in his late years was on the way to the Min river and Mt. Emei (in today's Sichuan). He passed by the Jingzhu palace (in Jingzhou). Grand Preceptor and Nanping King built clean room [in a temple] to accommodate him and donate clean money to provide him. Although Qiji entered the doors of royalty and officials, he did not remove his white shoes.

[318] Tian Daoying 田道英, "*Qiji xingnian kaoshu* 齊己行年考述 (A textual study of the life of Qiji in chronological order)," 225.

[齊己]晚歲將之岷峨，假途渚宮，太師南平王築淨室以居之，捨淨財以供之，雖入朱門，而不移素履。

Sun Guangxian explained that Qiji only intended to pass Jingzhou as a short stop on his way to the Shu region, which indirectly reveals that Qiji's stay in Jingzhou was not voluntary. Although Qiji became a monk-official and associated with other high officials, he still wore the old and white monk shoes and did not conform in the court culture. Qiji's wearing white shoes suggests Qiji's high morale but also a possible gesture that Qiji desired to leave the Jingzhou court.

Qiji as a monk-official did not share Guanxiu's idea that the Buddhist and Confucian ideal rulings were the same. He did not view that he, as a Buddhist, was capable of influencing politics. In the poem below Qiji expressed his disbelief of his influence on politics:

Thinking of the old mountain	憶舊山[319]
Who asks a weak and tired person [like me] to live in the northern prefecture?	誰請衰羸住北州，
For seven years I have terribly missed the old mountains.	七年魂斷舊山丘。
My heart is pure, like the moon reflection on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers underneath the banister;	心清檻底瀟湘月，
My bones are cold during my meditation in the autumn at Mt. Taihua.	骨冷禪中太華秋。
I have not heard that one's great virtue could tame the tigers and leopards;	高節未聞馴虎豹，
How can a few words of mine overwhelm the king and the marquis?	片言何以傲王侯。
I should leave for the solitary peak with ease;	應須脫灑孤峰去，
Only then I am obviously a shaven bald-head.	始是分明箇剃頭。

[319] *BLJ*, *juan* 9: 178a; *QTS*, 12: 9569. Qiji did not explicitly points out where he lives when he wrote this poem. However, the hints of *Bei zhou* 北州 (northern prefecture) and *wang hou* 王侯 (the king and marquis) suggest that this poem should be written when Qiji lived in Jingzhou, a northern prefecture to his home prefecture Xiangzhou 湘州 (today's Hunan).

The first couplet clearly states the poet's homesickness. The second couplet mentions the places where Qiji had been—the Xiao 瀟 and Xiang 湘 Rivers of his homeland and Mt. Taihua 太華 (in today's Shaanxi). *Xing qing* 心清 (pure heart) and *gu leng* 骨冷 (cold bones) symbolise his pure virtues.[320] The third couplet states Qiji's scepticism of his virtues being useful in the court. The last couplet reveals his wish to return to the mountains and puts stress on that he is after all a monk whose rightful place is in the monasteries, not in the court. Although Qiji became a Buddhist Chief, he still did not view himself being able to assist in the state ruling. He preferred the mountain monasteries to the court and explicitly requested Gao Jixing to allow him to leave Jingzhou.[321] Qiji's wish to leave the court is constantly seen in his poems written in Jingzhou. His desire to leave sometimes was so strong that he wrote in another poem to his old colleagues, "I will eventually drag myself, old and ill, and leave for you again; I would die in peace if I can arrive in Mt. Lu." [終拖老病重尋去，得到匡廬死便休。][322] However, Gao Jixing did not grant Qiji's wish, and Qiji never returned to his old monasteries. Qiji's insistence of leaving the court shows the poet-monk treasured his freedom and the virtues of being an unworldly monk more than the comforts and power that the highest monk-official post could offer.

Qiji did not lack official friends, and his association with the officials seems to contradict his image of his distant from politics and his discouragement of other monks to make contacts with the officials. In the poem *Mian yinseng* 勉吟僧

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[320] See the relevant discussion, pp. 235-9.

[321] There are fourteen poems in *Bailian ji* addressed to Gao Jixing, and ten of them asked Gao Jixing to let Qiji leave Jingzhou.

[322] *Ji huai Zhongling jiuyou yin ji zhiji* 寄懷鍾陵舊遊因寄知己 (Sending [a poem] to my former travel companion in Zhongling whom I think of and also to my old friend), *BLJ, juan* 8: 168ab; *QTS*, 12: 9559.

(Encourage a poet-monk), Qiji used his own example to discourage the poet-monk from writing poetry as a means to contact the officials:[323]

Thousands of ways and methods disturb the real source [of inspiration];	千途萬轍亂真源，
I work hard during the day and am occupied during the night.	白晝勞形夜斷魂。
Can you suffer to wear a monk robe and hold your name card,	忍著袈裟把名紙，
And be like others to bend yourself lowly at the doors of the five lords?[324]	學他低折五侯門？

The first couplet describes the poet-monk's hard studies of poetry; the second couplet questions if the poet-monk should study poetry only to seek acquaintance with the royalties and officials. However, Qiji also went to visit Zheng Gu 鄭谷 (851-910), who passed the civil examinations in the year 887 and was appointed to a governmental post after the year 893,[325] to study poetry with him.[326] Apparently Qiji did not avoid having official friends either.

How did Qiji justify his own association with his official friends? In contrast to Guanxiu's poems to the officials, Qiji's social poems have two distinctions. Firstly, Qiji's poems to his official friends always focus on poetry writing and he never asks to be of service to any official. *Shi* poetry was a Confucian canon study, and it was naturally perceivable that the secular scholars were experts of poetic art, and particularly those who passed the examination were obvious models for other poets. It was natural that Qiji sought advice of the established masters of poetic art such as

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[323] *BLJ, juan* 10: 207a; *QTS*, 12: 9592.

[324] *Wuhou* 五侯 were the five grades of lords: *gong* 公 (Duke), *hou* 侯 (Marquis), *bo* 伯 (Earl), *zi* 子 (Viscount) and *nan* 男 (Baron).

[325] Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, ed. *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 (Corrections and notations of Biographies of the Tang talents) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 4:162-3.

[326] Wu Renchen 吳任臣, *Shiguo chenqiu* 十國春秋 (Histories of the Ten States), in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (The collectanea of the four treasuries), ed. Zhang Yushu 張玉書, 465: 273a. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

Zheng Gu, who asserted his literary standing in passing the state examination, and studied poetry with him.[327] Secondly, in contrast to Guanxiu's usually demure profile to the officials, Qiji was occasionally seen to be stern with his official friend. Qiji was a good friend of the literatus Sun Fang 孫魴 (c. d. 940).[328] Later Sun Fang was recruited by Military Commissioner Yang Xingmi 楊行密 (852-905) and appointed a Retainer.[329] Qiji had four poems to Sun Fang in *Bailian ji*, and one of the four poems shows Qiji's distinct displeasure with Sun Fang who was an official already:

Reply to Sun Fang	酬孫魴[330]
The hermit still loves the clouds.	幽人還愛雲，
The Talent has entered the military.	才子已從軍。
The partnership of the mandarin ducks and geese can be trusted;[331]	可信鴛鴻侶，
I think more of the flocks of deer.[332]	更思麋鹿羣。
Although you have sent me your poetry on new topics;	新題雖有寄，
I can hardly hear your old sayings any more.	舊論竟難聞。

[327] Qiji studied poetry with Zheng Gu, and they were known to write *Xinding shige* 新定詩格 (New poetry regulations) together with another literati Huang Sun 黃損 (*fl.c.* 864-943). Most part of *Xinding shige* is lost and only a few lines remain. Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, *Quan Tang Wudai shige hui kao* 全唐五代詩格彙考 (Compilations and textual studies of poetry regulations in the Tang and Wudai periods) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), 395.

[328] *TCZZ*, 4:467-70. Sun Fang studied with Zheng Gu and possibly met Qiji when he visited Zheng Gu. The biography of Sun Fang can be found in Ma Lin 馬令, *Nantang shu* 南唐書 (History of the Southern Tang Kingdom), in *Zhongguo yeshi jicheng* 中國野史集成 (Collection of Chinese non-standard histories), eds. Zhongguo Yeshi Jicheng Bianweihui 中國野史集成編委會, and Sichuan Daxue Tushuguan 四川大學圖書館, 5: 51a. (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993).

[329] Ibid.

[330] *BLJ, juan* 5: 105a; *QTS*, 12: 9507.

[331] *Yuanhong* 鴛鴻 (mandarin duck and wild goose) means a virtuous man or one'colleague. As Qiji scolded Sun Fang forgetting his old resolution, *yuanhong* is more likely referred to their broken old fellowship than praising Sun Fang as a virtuous man.

[332] *Milu* 麋鹿 (deer) is wild animal and therefore serves as a symbol of a hermit's life in the wildness. When a scholar says that he has *milu zhi* 麋鹿志 (deer intention) or *milu xing* 麋鹿性 (deer nature), he expresses an intention for a hermit life.

A good friend turns to be like this now. 知己今如此，
I almost want to burn all couplets we wrote together. 編聯悉欲焚。

The first couplet shows that Sun Fang was already an official when Qiji wrote this poem. The hermit (*youren* 幽人) in the first couplet means Qiji himself, and the talent in the military service means Sun Fang. The two friends have already gone to different paths when Sun Fang joined the officialdom. The second couplet puts the enduring partnership of mandarin ducks and geese in contrast to the two friends' broken fellowship. The third couplet points out that Qiji and Sun Fang still exchange poetry. However, Qiji is angry that Sun Fang only talks about new ideas and forgets his old words, suggesting Sun Fang abandoned his old ways once he worked as an official. Qiji was so disappointed about Sun Fang's changes that he wanted to burn the couplets they wrote together. Such strong reproach to an official friend is not seen in Guanxiu's poems. Qiji's association with the scholar-officials was more conditional than Guanxiu's. What Qiji advised his poet-monk friend in the poem *Mian yinseng* is not to "bend lowly" (*dizhe* 低折) to the officials and asked favours of them, but apparently Qiji did not object to the monks studying poetry together with the officials. In Qiji's view, *shi* poetry as external learning serve a common ground for the monks to interact with the non-Buddhist, but in doing so the moral values attached to the clergy should not be sacrificed.

3.3.3. Guanxiu and Qiji as poet-monks in society

Monk *shi* poetry and the clergy's position in the socio-political structure

Guanxiu and Qiji had different attitudes towards socio-politics and the officialdom; they also differed in their purpose of poetry writing and association with the officials. However, Guanxiu and Qiji still shared a common ground: They both claimed that they wrote *shi* poetry to serve their Buddhist duties. However, their

differences resulted from an individualistic interpretation of their Buddhist responsibilities in relation to socio-politics and monk-officialdom. The responsibilities of the Buddhist monks were not only prescribed in the monastic codes but also ingrained in the political structure. Ideally the clergy was an autonomic community from the secular society prescribed in the monastic codes. However, the Chinese state government extended its ruling over the management of the monasteries through the establishment of the monk-official system, and the monk-officials were responsible to manage the Buddhist communities.[333] By the Tang the monk-official system was set up from the central level to the local prefectures and the state sponsored temples and monasteries. As the management of Buddhist communities was ingrained in the political structure, monk-officials were necessary in spite of such posts contradicting the unworldly spirit of the clergy.

In spite of Guanxiu and Qiji's different attitudes towards socio-politics, their motivation to study *shi* poetry was relevant to the clergy's position in the socio-political structure. Guanxiu believed that the Buddhist monks could share the responsibilities of state management, and his poetry could function for political admonishment. Guanxiu was ambitious about serving on an official post to contribute his political influence. In a structure where the learned monks were potential officials to manage the Buddhist communities, Guanxiu could argue his ambition for an official career as part of doing Buddhist duties. Qiji personally kept a distance from socio-politics and dissociated his poetry writing from the pursuit of an official post. He also tried to persuade other poet-monks to take a similar attitude and not to write poetry for personal advancement in officialdom. However, Qiji also viewed the

[333] See the relevant discussion, pp. 62-6.

dynastic government as the rightful authority for managing the Buddhist monasteries and did not consider a monk taking an official post as violating the Buddhist teachings. Whether or not Guanxiu and Qiji were personally ambitious about an official career, they were aware of their position as Buddhist monks in the socio-political structure.

Monk *shi* poetry and the poet-monks' association with secular scholars

Monk *shi* poetry as external learning meant for the poet-monks to engage their poetry writing with people external to the clergy. Many of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems show clearly a social purpose. There were two important reasons why the poet-monks exchanged and studied poetry together with non-Buddhists, in particular the secular scholars and officials, even if their motivations were different. Firstly, the main purpose of the monks studying external learning was to demonstrate that their submission to Buddhism was not out of ignorance of non-Buddhist learning; and the Buddhist teachings could complement the defects in secular scholarship. Given that *shi* poetry was a canon study, it was perceivable that the poet-monks used *shi* poetry to interact with the secualr scholars. Moreover, *shi* poetry became an important indicator of scholarship and a key skill to enter officialdom during the Tang. The poet-monks could not take the state examination to assert their skills in poetic art. Therefore their literary standing largely depended on the opinions of other established poets such as the officials who had passed the examination already. It was perceivable that the poet-monks sought acknowledgement from the secular scholars to assert their expertise in poetic art. Both Guanxiu and Qiji asked advice of the established poets for their poetry. For instance, Guanxiu wrote in the poem *Shang Gu Daifu* 上顧大夫 (Presenting to Grand Master Gu) to request Grand Master Gu's opinions about his poetry. Guanxiu wrote, "Today I respectfully present [my poetry] to the greatest judge; how can I not do my best? If my works are not good enough, I would return to the

mountains and study harder." [今朝投至鑒，得不傾肝腦。斯文如未精，歸山更探討。][334] Qiji visited Zheng Gu in Yichun 宜春 (in today's Jiangxi)[335] and presented his poems to Zheng Gu for advice. It is said in *Wudai shihua* that Qiji presented the poem *Zaomei* 早梅 (Early plum blossom)[336] to Zheng Gu, and Zheng Gu changed one character in the poem to better it and earned the deserved credit of *yi zi shi* 一字師 (the teacher of a single character) to Qiji.[337] The reliability of this historical account is not certain, but Qiji asserted in his poem *Yongye ganhuai ji Zheng Gu langzhong* 永夜感懷寄鄭谷郎中 (Pondering my thoughts for a long time at night, and sending them to Gentleman of the Interior Zheng Gu) that he received poetic instruction from Zheng Gu, "I would not have suffered the propensity for poetry writing since birth, if I had received early the instruction from the master of the examination." [生來苦章句，早遇至公言。][338] Guanxiu and Qiji both looked to the secular scholar-officials to certify their expertise in poetic art.

The second reason for poet-monks to interact with non-Buddhists was that under the monk-official system the monasteries became religious institutions relying on the state support. More than a demonstration of knowledge, external learning was a pragmatic way to keep a harmonious relationship with the literati and to gain the support of the official-literati. Guanxiu was obviously keen to keep a good relationship with the local officials because they could be a strong support to the Buddhist communities. For instance, in the poem *Ji Dayuan heshang* 寄大願和尚

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[334] *CYJ*, 102-3.

[335] Wu Renchen 吳任臣, *Shiguo chenqiu* 十國春秋 (Histories of the Ten States), 465: 273a.

[336] *BLJ, juan* 6 : 120; *QTS,* 12 : 9528.

[337] Wang Shizhen 王士禛, ed. *Wudai shihua* 五代詩話 (Wudai poetry talks), 329.

[338] *Yongye ganhuai ji Zheng Gu langzhong* 永夜感懷寄鄭谷郎中 (Having thoughts in a long time and sending them to Gentleman of the Interior Zheng Gu) in *BLJ, juan* 1: 36a ; *QTS*, 12 : 9449.

(Sending [a poem] to monk Dayuan) Guanxiu mentioned that his good friend Feng Yan, the Governor of Tongjiang, supported Buddhism and donated a thousand *dan* 石 [339] of rice to Guanxiu's Chan teacher Dayuan: "Tongjiang Governor is a member of the Buddhist society; he takes the example of Xi Chao and sends a thousand *dan* of rice to [monk Dayuan]." [桐江太守社中人，還送郤超米千石。][340] Guanxiu did not mention if Feng Yan sent the rice to Dayuan on his account, but we can speculate that Guanxiu's good connection with Feng Yan had an influence on Feng Yan's generosity to Guanxiu's teacher. Although Qiji seemed to be little interested in involving himself with political management and claimed not to write *shi* poetry for an official career, he did not dissociate his poetry writing from the scholar-officials and in general kept a good relationship with his official friends.

Monk *shi* poetry and the poet-monks' socio-political standing

Although Guanxiu and Qiji had different attitudes towards their prospect in officialdom, their religious careers were nevertheless shaped by their poetry writing, since one's poetic fame was a high political value in society. *Shi* poetry had been a core cultural learning, but its socio-political importance was reinforced when *shi* poetry officially became an indispensable aspect of one's admittance to the officialdom. That socio-politic importance of *shi* poetry also emanated in monk *shi* poetry. The poet-monks could promote their socio-political standing and influence through their poetry writing. In Guanxiu and Qiji's case, the rise of their social standing and influence were at least shown in two ways: one was that they were

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[339] A *dan* was approximately 79.32 kg.

[340] *CYJ*, 99-102. The notation of this couplet in the base text says that "Xi Jian sent rice into the mountains to give to monk Daoan. [昔郤鑒送米入山與道安。] Xi Chao 郤超 is possibly a wrong transcription of Xi Jian 郤鑒. Xi Jian 郤鑒 (d. 339) was a Jin local official in Nanchang 南昌 (in today's Jiangxi).

constantly presented with edited literary works by the sholars who had not yet passed the state examination (*xiucai* 秀才);[341] and the other was they were eventually recruited to the regional government and appointed to official posts.

In Guanxiu and Qiji's social poems we find that the literati, in particular the scholars ready to take the *jinshi* examination, also came to the poet-monks and presented their *xingjuan* 行卷 (circulation scroll). It was popular during the Middle and Late Tang for the examination takers to edit their literary works, write them onto scrolls and send these scrolls to people of socio-political or literary influence. By doing so, the examination takers hoped to gain appreciation from these people who might have influence on the examination result.[342] Some examination takers presented their works to Guanxiu and Qiji and looked for the poet-monks' approval, indicating that the poet-monks were regarded to have a reasonable standing of influence. Below is a poem of Qiji responding to an examination taker Ding who had presented his edited works to Qiji:

Thanks to scholar Ding for showing me his rhapsody scroll	謝丁秀才見示賦卷[343]
Five newly written poems,	五首新裁剪，
They are thoroughly crafted and explain your intentions fully.	搜羅盡指歸。
Who has learned the ancient poetic rules?	誰曾師古律，

[341] Niu Zhiping 牛志平, Yao Zhaonü 姚兆女 ed., *Tang ren chengwei* 唐人稱謂 (*The title of the Tang people*) (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1987), 32.

[342] The modern scholars Chen Qianfan and Victor H. Mair explicate the importance of *xingjuan* practice in the Tang state examination in two works: Cheng Qianfan 程千帆, *Tang dai jinshi xingjuan yu wenxue* 唐代進士行卷與文學 (Tang presented scholars' circulation scroll and literature) ; Victor H. Mair, "Scroll Presentation in the T'ang Dynasty," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 38, no. 1 (1978), 35-60.

[343] *BLJ, juan* 4: 88b; *QTS*, 12: 9493.

You carry the divine mysteries.	君自負天機。
The sacred queen has looked for the virtuous long;[344]	聖后求賢久，
The renowned master has few talented people.	名公得儁稀。
At autumn you should take them with you	乘秋好攜去，
And fly to the sky straightforward.	直望九霄飛。

In the poem Qiji approves of scholar Ding's works and encourages him to take his works to the capital in autumn and attend the examination. Guanxiu and Qiji were not from any significant family and were only Buddhist monks, where would their influence come from? Guanxiu and Qiji obviously could gain contact and befriend some officials because of their poetry, and their opinions could be of influence on their official friends.

Success at the *jinshi* examination, proving one's worthy of poetic art, provided assess to officialdom. During the Late Tang and Wudai periods, the state examination was constantly held during this turbulent period to recruit able scholars to the civil service.[345] Many military commissioners also recruit renowned scholars and literati privately to their service in order to consolidate their regional government and extend their influence. Zhu Wen 朱溫 (851-912) of the Liang, for example, recruited Jing Xiang 敬翔 (d. 923) to his service and relied on his opinions to run the country.[346] Gao Jixing of the Nanping, again, detained and wanted to recruit Liang Zhen 梁震 (*fl.c.* 858-929),[347] who was a Presented Scholar under the Tang government, when he

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[344] It is uncertain whom Qiji referred to as the sacred queen.

[345] Zheng Xuemeng 鄭學檬, *Wudai shiguo shi yanjiu* 五代十國史研究 (A study of history of the Wudai shiguo period) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1991), 85-100.

[346] Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 (New history of the Five dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 1: 207-210.

[347] Throughout Liang Zhen's life he referred himself as a Presented Scholar of the previous dynasty (*qian jinshi* 前進士). He served as a personal adviser to Gao Jixing and declined all official

passed Nanping. Liang Zhen refused Gao Jixing's official appointments but helped him design the military and government policies anyway. When the regional powers were desperate for intelligence, Guanxiu and Qiji's poetic fame was perceived by the rulers as a recommendation of abilities and virtues. Eventually Guanxiu and Qiji were recruited in the Shu and Nanping governments. Guanxiu willingly accepted the official appointment, but Qiji was forced into his position and was bitter about it. Qiji's bitterness manifests even more that the poet-monks' literary fame was a high political value to the ambitious rulers during the Wudai period. Regardless of the poet-monks' intentions, the cultural and socio-political framework during the Late Tang allowed a potential for the poet-monks to exert their influence from the Buddhist communities to the secular literary culture and politics.

3.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the modern receptions of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry, outlined the biographies of the two poet-monks and investigated the relationship between their poetry writing, socio-politics and the official career.

The modern studies receive Guanxiu and Qiji' poetry mainly from two perspectives: Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on the socio-political issues are treated as a political admonishment following the Confucian teachings; Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry on spirituality was interpreted from a Buddhist viewpoint. Section 3.3 explores further Guanxiu and Qiji's individual attitudes towards socio-politics and monk-officialdom. Guanxiu viewed himself as a state subject and believed the Buddhist and Confucian ideal rulings were the same. He emphasised the admonishing function of *shi* poetry

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appointments from Gao Jixing. Bian Xiaoxuan 卞孝萱, and Zheng Xuemong 鄭學檬, *Wudai shihua* 五代史話 (History of the Wudai period) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1985), 31.

and wrote poetry for a socio-political purpose. Guanxiu was ambitious about an official career and eager to be of service to his official friends. Qiji on the other hand viewed the lay officialdom as a temptation to the monks to leave the clergy. Qiji did not object to other monks becoming monk-officials, but he objected that a monk wrote poetry only to obtain an official post. Qiji was personally disinclined to be involved with politics and was bitter when he was forced to accept the monk-official appointment in the Nanping state.

Guanxiu and Qiji both asserted that their poetry writing could help them discharge the Buddhist responsibilities in society, though their interpretation of the Buddhist responsibilities differed according to their attitudes towards socio-politics and monk-officialdom. The responsibilities of the Buddhist monks were not only prescribed in the monastic codes but also ingrained in the political structure. The establishment of the monk-official system allowed the state government to include the Buddhist clergy into statecraft, and the monk-officials were responsible to manage the Buddhist communities for the government. Such political structure allowed Guanxiu to argue that his ambition for an official career was to serve the Buddhist duties. Guanxiu's social poems show an obvious interest to be on good terms with the scholar-officials. Qiji, though generally disinterested in political involvement, also recognised the government as the proper authority to manage the Buddhist communities. When the clergy's prosperity depended on the scholar-officials, monk *shi* poetry as external learning was a means to gain support from the scholar-officials. Qiji, though less demure in his profile, did not avoid associating with the officials and generally kept a harmonious connection.

The inclusion of poetry writing in the *jinshi* examination after the Tianbao period

sourced a political value to those skilful in poetic art. Guanxiu and Qiji were constantly presented with edited literary works by the examination takers, which indicated that the poet-monks were considered to hold a certain degree of social influence. The two poet-monks were eventually recruited and appointed to official posts in the regional government because of the political value underpinned by their poetic fame. Individual poet-monks might differ in their attitudes towards the secular power, but their poetry writing generally promoted their standing in the socio-politics.

The next chapter investigates how Guanxiu and Qiji viewed the relationship between their religious studies and poetry writing and re-evaluates the characteristics of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry from the perspective of external learning, and how monk *shi* poetry contributed to the greater *shi* poetic tradition beyond literati poetry.

Chapter Four: A Case Study of Guanxiu and Qiji's Life and Poetry (Part II)

This chapter is the second part of the case study. It studies firstly how Guanxiu and Qiji related their poetry writing to their religious studies and if the poet-monks' cleric identity influenced the literati's appreciation of their poetry. Section 4.2 investigates the characteristics of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry in comparison to the works of their contemporary literati, and how these characteristics were shaped by the function of external learning. Section 4.3 examines how the poet-monks' religious background influenced the characteristics of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry. Section 4.4 summarise the arguments of Chapter Four.

4.1. Guanxiu and Qiji's Religious Studies and Poetry Writing

The relationship between the poet-monks' poetry writing and their religious studies was not always a simple one. There was an increasing tendency of Chinese

poetry during the ninth and tenth century to pair *shi* 詩 (poetry) with *dao* 道 (the [Buddhist] Way) or *chan* 禪 (meditation).[348] Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry also indicated a complex treatment of the relationship between poetry writing and religious studies.

The literati tended to interpret Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry only religiously and mostly appreciated the characteristics expressing Buddhist spirituality. However, Guanxiu and Qiji did not write poetry only to express Buddhist spirituality, and many of their poems did not exhibit Buddhist spirituality. In fact, Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry as external learning was not very different from literati poetry.

4.1.1. The relationship between poet-monks' poetry writing and religious studies

Poetry writing was not always in harmony with the monks' religious studies. Guanxiu and Qiji sometimes used the term *shimo* 詩魔 (poetry demon)[349] to describe

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[348] Stephen Owen, *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827-860)* (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2006) 91, footnote 6. "Poetry is sometimes treated as a supplement to Chan, sometimes the competitor, and at other times another form of Chan. We are not speaking here of the influence on poetry of Buddhism as a religion but rather of Buddhism as the model for poetry as an austere lay 'discipline,' demanding complete commitment and setting the practitioner apart from ordinary people." This title is henceforth referred to as *LT*.

[349] The earliest use of this term *shimo* 詩魔 (poetic demon) in *QTS* was by Liu Yuxi or Bai Juyi; it is uncertain who used the term first. Liu and Bo were both Buddhists, and this term is usually mentioned together with the poet's faith, indicating the poet's choice of the term is likely to derive from his belief in Buddhism. Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 had one poem mentioning *shimo*, *Chunri shu huai ji dong Luo Bai er shi er Yang ba er shuzi* 春日書懷寄東洛白二十二楊八二庶子 (On a spring day I write down my thoughts and send them to the two Secretaries of the Crown Prince's Household, Bai the twenty-second in Luoyang at East and Yang the eighth), *QTS*, 6: 4060. Bai Juyi had three poems mentioning *shimo*: *Xian yin* 閑吟 (Recitation in leisure), *QTS*, 7: 4895; *Zui yin* er shou zhi er 醉吟 二首之二 (Drunken recitation, 2nd of 2), *QTS*, 7: 4906 ; *Pei shizhong Jin Gong yi Jixianlin ting jishi shi sanshiliu yun jianzeng wei meng zheng he cai zhuo ci fan zhe guang wei wu bai yan yi shen chouxian* 裴侍中晉公以集賢林亭即事詩三十六韻見贈猥蒙徵和才拙辭繁輒廣爲五百言以伸酬獻 (Pei Du, the Director of the Chancellery and Duke of the Jin, gave me his poem of thirty-six rhymes on the immediate occasion

poetry writing as a distraction to their religious studies. *Mo* 魔, *māra* in Sanskrit, originally means the killing demons. It also means anything which hinders one's spiritual pursuit, such as any worry or addiction. Qiji, for example, wrote in the poem *Ai yin* 愛吟 (I love reciting poetry) that his poetry writing distracted him from practicing meditation:

I love reciting poetry	愛吟[350]
The monk (Qiji) just planned to lock the door to meditate;	正堪凝思掩禪扃，
Again the monk is annoyed by the poetry demon.	又被詩魔惱竺卿。
Sometimes I lean on the window since the sun sets;	偶憑窗扉從落照，
In the snow stormy day I do not sleep until very late at night.	不眠風雪到殘更。
Jiaoran perhaps was not addicted to his former pursuit;	皎然未必迷前習，
Didn't Zhidun intend to enlighten people of the later generations?	支遁寧非悟後生。
When [their poems] are transcribed, someone might truly understand them;	傳寫會逢精鑒者，
The transcribers would also know that the poet-monks were reciting poems for leisurely thoughts.	也應知是詠閑情。

The first couplet clearly indicates that Qiji's love for poetry writing distracted him from practicing meditation. The second couplet continues describing Qiji's devotional study of poetry during the evening. The third and fourth couplets explicate Qiji's interpretation of the precedent poet-monks' motivation to write poetry: although the poet-monks might write poetry for religion, they also write to express their leisurely thoughts. In Qiji's view, *shi* poetry could convey personal feelings which are not necessarily religious.

To an ambitious poet-monk like Guanxiu poetry writing can be an art of its own

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at the Forest Pavilion of Scholarly Worthies; I am requested to write a poem of the same rhymes in return, but I am short of talent and have much to write and therefore extend the poem to five hundred characters in order to express my thoughts in the returning poem), *QTS,* 7: 5116.

[350] *BLJ, juan* 7: 152ab; *QTS*, 12: 9546.

worth as well. In the poem *Du Gu Kuang ge xing* 讀顧況歌行 (Reading Gu Kuang's ballads) Guanxiu wrote, "By accident I read a scroll of Buweng [Gu Kuang] poetry;[351] I start feeling poetry demon betrays me." [忽睹逋翁一軸歌，始覺詩魔辜負我。][352] Guanxiu humorously complained that he was led by "poetry demon" to study poetry, but he felt his hard working on poetry writing was not properly rewarded because Gu Kuang 顧況 (c.727-c.820) wrote better poetry than his own. Guanxiu's deliberate comparison between his works and Gu Kuang's suggests that Guanxiu did not write poetry simply to express his thoughts; he studied poetry as a worthy art in need of diligence to perfection. In another poem *Ou zuo* 偶作 (Occasional composition) Guanxiu wrote about his diligent cultivation of *shi* poetic art, "Without reason I work on the lines of five characters; each character brings out a white hair out on my temple." [無端爲五字，字字鬢星星。][353]

Although poetry writing appears to hinder Guanxiu and Qiji's religious practice, the monks also asserted a religious relevance to their poetry writing. In general Guanxiu and Qiji emphasised the compatibility more often than the contradiction between poetry writing and religious studies. The compatibility is often demonstrated in paring poetry with the Way or Chan in a couplet (*lian* 聯) of *lüshi* 律詩 (regulated verse). The focus of a couplet is the relationship presented between the words in the paired positions. A couplet, by its formal prescription, lays out an enclosed and balanced system, and the connotation of the paired words is more emphasised than their denotation.[354] When Guanxiu and Qiji paired poetry with *dao*

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[351] Gu Kuang's literary name is Buweng 逋翁.

[352] *CYJ*, 60-1.

[353] *CYJ*, 345.

[354] Kao Yu-Kung 高友工, *Zhongguo meidian yu wenxue yanjiu lunji* 中國美典與文學研究論集 (Studies of Chinese aesthetics and literature) (Taipei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2004), 194 and Kao Yu-

or *chan*, they expressed the harmony between their religious pursuit and poetry writing by describing the pair with similar natured objects. Below is a poem of Guanxiu on his mountain life as an example, and the couplet in concern is in bold form for analysis:

Twenty-four poems on mountain living	山居詩二十四首
(3rd of 24)	之三[355]
The beautiful bird singing lingers long, and I open my sleepy eyes;	好鳥聲長睡眼開，
Holding good tea to drink I sit on the berry grass and moss.	好茶擎乳坐莓苔。
I do not hear the glory and humiliation vanish in turns;	不聞榮辱成番盡，
I only see the bears come in groups.	只見熊羆作隊來。
The principle of poetry has been purer than the white snow;	**詩理從前欺白雪，**
The inner feelings of the Way in the end are cultivated to be like those of an infant.	**道情終遣似嬰孩。**
This affair has been known to few kinder spirited people;	由來此事知音少，
If it is not true *feng* poetry, it goes and will not return.	不是真風去不迴。

Dao 道 (the Way) was a word commonly used across the three teachings to mean the ultimate Truth. Knowing that Guanxiu and Qiji were Buddhists, it is reasonable to assume that the Way they meant should be the teachings of Buddha. In this poem, *shi li* 詩理 (the principle of poetry) is paralleled with *dao qing* 道情 (inner feelings of the Way). Guanxiu compares the inner substance of poetry and the Way to *baixue* 白雪 (white snow) and *yinghai* 嬰孩 (new-born infant). The relationship of poetry and the Way relies on how the white snow is related to the new-born infant. Snow is white and pure; an infant knows nothing of the world, so his feelings are innocent and pure. The natural characteristics of snow and infant are similar, and therefore poetry and the Way are of a harmonious relationship. A similar congenial parallel of poetry and the

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Kung's article in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, ed. Shuen-Fu Lin, and Stephen Owen, 349 and 356-7 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[355] *CYJ*, 454.

Way also appeared in Qiji's poems:

Encouraging a poet-monk	勉詩僧[356]
Do not hold your young scholar name card,	莫把毛生刺，
Loiter in low profile to request a meeting with Li Ying.[357]	低佪謁李膺。
You should guard yourself from those who know Buddha,	須防知佛者，
Understand and laugh at those fame-loving monks.	解笑愛名僧。
The nature of the Way should be like water;	道性宜如水，
The inner feelings of poetry should be like ice.	詩情合似冰。
Moreover, together with the guests of the Lotus society	還同蓮社客，
Make couplets and recite around the incensed lamp.	聯唱遶香燈。

In the marked couplet Qiji also parallels the Way and poetry, more specifically, *dao xing* 道性 (the nature of the Way) and *shi qing* 詩情 (the nature of poetry). *Xing* 性 (nature) and *qing* 情 (inner feelings) are essential properties of the Way and poetry, and are compared to water and ice, two forms of the same substance. Therefore the inner natures of the Way and of poetry are fundamentally the same, though the expression might be different. The Way and poetry again are congenial counterparts.

Poetry writing was presented as an integrated part of the poet-monks' religious

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[356] *BLJ, juan* 3: 71a; *QTS*, 12: 9478.

[357] In this poem Qiji uses Li Ying 李膺 (110-169) to symbolise people of political influence who could help the poet-monk with an official career. Li Ying was an influential official in the Eastern Han (25-220). It is said in his biography that at the peak of his influence, the scholar who was received by Li Ying would be greatly admired by others. Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 7: 2195. In *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (*A new account of tales of the world*) it is recorded that Li Ying would only receive talented and renowned people or his relatives. Kong Rong 孔融 (153-208) at the age of ten *sui* used the excuse that he was Li Ying's family friend and succeeded meeting Li Ying. When Li Ying asked how they were related, Kong Rong traced to the meeting of Kongzi 孔子 (Confucius) and Li Er 李耳 (Laozi) in the ancient time and won a reputation of being a young witty talent. Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A new account of tales of the world) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 125.

studies, though the integration might differ in practice and notion. Guanxiu believed that monk *shi* poetry could make a positive contribution to state governing, as discussed previously, and the Buddhist and Confucian ideal state rulings were the same to him. Qiji appreciated poetry as a study of art and viewed it as inappropriate for a monk to study poetry simply to gain admittance to the monk-officialdom. Qiji had little interest to get involved with politics through his poetry writing. Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry writing agreed with their respective conceptions of the relationship between clergy and monk-officialdom. Below is a poem of Guanxiu serving as an example:

Occasional composition	偶作[358]
For ten years in the single door room,	十載獨扃扉，
I only work on the greater and lesser odes.	唯爲二雅詩。
The Way is alone and does not mix with others eventually;	道孤終不雜，
My hair turns white, and why should I doubt it?	頭白更何疑。
The coldness of my lines can be compared to the firs and pines;	句冷杉松與，
The heaviness of the frost can be heard from the drum and horn.	霜嚴鼓角知。
Observe my heart leisurely in front of mirror;	修心對閑鏡，
The bright moon seals on the autumn pond.	明月印秋池。

The first couplet states that the type of poetry Guanxiu wrote is *er ya shi* 二雅詩 (greater and lesser odes), one of the three forms of poetry in *Shi jing* and relevant to political admonishment. Guanxiu exclaims his devotion to poetry writing in the second couplet. He further describes his enduring recitation in the third couplet. "Coldness" is an atmospheric quality that often accompanies the poet-monks' writing experience and also an aesthetic quality the poet-monks endeavour to express, implying that the nature of poetry is like white snow. Guanxiu compares "the coldness

[358] *CYJ*, 171-2.

of the lines" to the firs and pines which are trees of forbearance enduring long cold weather and remaining green. Guanxiu hopes his poetry could endure like the firs and pines through time. Drums and horns are military music instruments. They are used to mark the hours in the night. Guanxiu's hearing them amid the heavy frost implies that he recites poetry till the late of night. The last couplet builds on a customary Buddhist image. The mirror is a common metaphor of a person's immanent Buddha nature,[359] and to observe the mind in front of the mirror is an allegory to keep the immanent Buddha nature clear, as it is used in the *ji* verse of the northern Chan master Shenxiu 神秀 (606-706): "The body is the *bodhi* tree; the heart-mind is like a bright mirror. Often wipe and polish it; not allowing dust to collect." [身是菩提樹，心如明鏡臺，時時勤拂拭，莫使有塵埃。][360] The moon was an accustomed metaphor for one's pure Buddha nature.[361] The autumn pond, shown by the moonlight, also reflects one's true nature. Both images, of observing oneself in front of the mirror and of the moon reflected on the autumn pond, suggest one's enlightenment about one's Buddha nature. This poem starts with Guanxiu's study of poetic art with a political intention. Then the middle couplets state the poet-monk's devotion to poetry writing and effort to refine his works to present the pure nature of poetry. The poem concludes at the poet-monk's religious studies and spiritual enlightenment. The nature of poetry and of one's Buddha nature is pure, and therefore compatible to express each other. Built on this compatibility, the poet-monks' poetry writing could achieve both its political purpose and one's spiritual enlightenment.

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[359] *Zhou*, 300.

[360] *Liu zhu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經 (*The platform sutra of the sixth patriarch*), *T*, 48: 348b. This title is henceforth referred to as *LZTJ*.

[361] Xiang Chu 項楚, Zhang Zikai 張子開, Tan Wei 譚偉, and He Jianping 何劍平, *Tangdai baihua shipai yanjiu* 唐代白話詩派研究 (A study of the Tang vernacular poetry) (Chengdu: Bushu shushe, 2005), 204.

As for Qiji, writing poetry is a more integrated part of the Buddhist studies routine, in particular of meditation. The relevant couplets are highlighted in the following two poems to exemplify the connection of Qiji's poetry writing and meditation:

Sitting in silence	靜坐[362]
Sit, lie down, walk and stop,	坐臥與行住，
I enter the meditation and come out of it to recite poetry.	入禪還出吟。
I should also grow [the age] with the sun and moon,	也應長日月，
These matters [meditation and poetry] are worthy of my body and mentality.	消得箇身心。
There are few to engage in the silent discussion;[363]	默論相如少，
The given advice in Huangmei is profound.[364]	黃梅付囑深。
[On] the old pine path in front of the door,	門前古松徑，
Occasionally I rise and walk under the clear shades.	時起步清陰。

Explaining poetic recitation	喻吟[365]
What do I do particularly for everyday?	日用是何專，
I recite poetry till becoming tired and then I sit to meditate.	吟疲即坐禪。
This life is enjoyable;	此生還可喜，
Other things are not to bother.	餘事不相便。

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[362] *BLJ, juan* 3: 69b; *QTS*, 12: 9484.

[363] Chan practitioners sometime do not use language to communicate their understanding and enlightenment. They developed various gestures and signs for communication. Wright, *Philosophical Meditations on Zen Buddhism*, 83-103.

[364] The county Huangmei 黃梅 in today's Hubei province was the base of the fourth and fifth Chan patriarchs. The fifth patriarch Hongren 弘忍 (601-674) was a native of Huangmei, too. The "given advice" possibly referred to the advice Hongren gave to the sixth patriarch Huineng when passing the dharma robe and sending Huineng away that Huineng should continue to pass the dharma teachings. *LZTJ*, 348b.

[365] *BLJ, juan* 6: 126a; *QTS*, 12: 9525.

My head grows white in innocence;[366]	頭白無邪裏，
My spirit is clear before there is imagery [in my mind].	魂清有象先。
River flowers and fragrant grass	江花與芳草，
Do not stain my [inner] field of feelings.[367]	莫染我情田。

One poem is on meditation, and the other, on reciting poetry. The two highlighted couplets show that Qiji practiced meditation and poetry writing closely together, and one study might complement the other study. The first couplet of *Jing zuo* 靜坐 (Sitting in silence) alludes to Huineng's teaching that "at all times, whether walking, stopping, sitting, or lying down, continually practicing and conducting yourself with authentic heart and mind." [於一切時中，住、行、坐、臥常行直心。][368] Whatever Qiji did would be part of his religious practice. It could also mean that Qiji's mediation was not restrained within a certain physical pose; he could practice meditation in all forms of conduct. Qiji entered meditation and came out to recite poetry, possibly to express what he achieved in meditation. In the next three couplets Qiji emphasised his enduring practice of the late Chan masters' teachings. Qiji's walking among the pine trees at the ending couplet could be a relaxation from meditation as well as a reflection of the virtue of forbearance that the pine trees symbolise. The first couplet of the other poem *Yu yin* 喻吟 (Explaining poetic recitation) also conveys a similar idea. The first line is a rhetorical question on what Qiji does everyday, and the answer—meditation and reciting poetry—is provided in the second line, but the order of the two practices is reverse from the couplet

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[366] *Wuxie* 無邪 (innocence) implies *Shi jing* or poetry in general based on the words in *The Analects*, "The master said, 'The three hundred poems in *Shi jing*, to conclude them in one sentence, it is said that they are of innocent thoughts.'" [子曰:「詩三百，一言以蔽之，曰思無邪」] Liu Baonan 劉寶楠, *Lunyu zhengyi* 論語正義 (Notations of the analects), 11: 13b-4a.

[367] *Qingtian* 情田 means the inner place where grows all desires and feelings.

[368] Translation in Peter D. Hershock, *Chan Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 104.

previously examined. Qiji practices meditation after he is tired from reciting poetry. The second couplet shows that Qiji enjoys his studies of poetry and meditation; the third and fourth couplets emphasise that the core spirit of these two studies is the mental and emotional purity.

Monk *shi* poetry could express not only the poet-monks' craftsmanship but also the poet's spirituality. Guanxiu once wrote about his fellow poet-monk Qiyi 棲一 (*fl.c.* 860) in the poems *Huai Wuchang Qiyi er shou* 懷武昌棲一二首 (Two poems on thinking of Qiyi in Wuchang) that Qiyi valued poetry highly that he would present his finished lines as a worship sacrifice to Buddha: "When you finish a line, you present it to Buddha firstly; no one understands your intention." [得句先呈佛，無人知此心。][369] Qiyi's presenting his poem to Buddha shows that he perceives poetry as an art of spirituality. Qiyi's devotion to poetic art is ultimately a pursuit of spiritual purity.

4.1.2. Reading monk *shi* poetry through the lens of the poet-monks' religious identity

Monk *shi* poetry might serve to express the poet-monk's spirituality, but it was not the only purpose of external learning. The poet-monks' emphasis of the compatibility between (Confucian) *shi* poetry writing and Buddhist studies argued that Buddhism was an inspiration, not an obstacle, to the Confucian study and vice versa. Emphasising the commonality of the two studies, the poet-monks could explore their equality in scholarship with the secular scholars. Guanxiu, for example, at his times was accepted by some scholars as a poet equal to the literati. For instance, Wu Rong, the writer of the preface in *Chanyue ji*, praised Guanxiu's poetry, declaring it could be compared to Li Bai and Bai Juyi and that Guanxiu was the heir of their

[369] *CYJ*, 194.

legacy:

> The poems of monk Guanxiu often excel in the reasoning. He is also able to innovate the meaning of the poems, and his words often delineate the scenes and things out of the chaotic nature. However, the purpose of his poems surely is consonant with the Way. Li Bai and Bo Juyi are already passed away. Who else but the reverend [Guanxiu] could continue their art?
> 上人之作，多以理勝，復能創新意，其語往往得景物於混茫自然之際，然其旨歸，必合於道，太白、白樂天既歿，可嗣其美者，非上人而誰？[370]

Guanxiu was also confident about his skills in poetry writing and viewed himself as an equal poet to the literati. However, Guanxiu was not entirely satisfied with Wu Rong's preface and asked Tanyu to write an afterword for his poetry collection. Tanyu reports:

> My master [Guanxiu] told me, "Master Wu's [Wu Rong] literary eloquence is extravagant and lofty. His knowledge is deep...he might wrong my intentions with his eloquence, or he might exaggerate his compliments and be kind [in his comments]. Then, he really would not understand my intentions. You should write again an afterword at the back of my work...You should not decline my wish, but you should say what I mean to say. And you should not compare me to the poets like Weizhi [Yuan Zhen], Letian [Bai Juyi] and Changji [Li He]. If I were living at the same time with these poets, then it would be known my poetry is comparable to them. You just write honestly, and it does not humiliate me." Tanyu cannot decline Master's wish and write this afterword.
> 先師謂吾門人曰：「吳公文藻贍逸，學海淵深……或以辭害志，或以誕飾饒借，則殊不解我意也。子可於餘所著之末，聊重序……子無辭焉，但當吾意而言之，然又不可以微之、樂天、長吉類之矣。吾若與騷人同時，即知殊不相屈。爾直言之，無相辱也。」曇域遜讓不暇力，而敘之。[371]

Guanxiu asked Tanyu to explain his intention for his poetry writing in the afterword. Despite Guanxiu's claim about Wu Rong's misinterpretation of his intention for

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[370] *ZHDD*, 4: 840a.

[371] "Afterword", Tanyu in *CYJ*, 527.

poetry writing, Guanxiu was self-assertive over his equal standing with the literati poets.

The poet-monks' religious identity, however, still largely affected many literati's appreciation of monk *shi* poetry. Qiji, for example, was regarded separately from the secular poets in the preface by Sun Guangxian. Sun Guangxian did not consider monk *shi* poetry less than literati poetry, for Sun Guangxian mentioned Qiji's poetry being praised by Zheng Gu,[372] but he compared Qiji only to other poet-monks and did not relate him in the greater poetry tradition:

> The critics said that among the Late Tang poet-monks only Chan master Guanxiu's poetry had bone [373] and airs naturally accomplished, and his [poetic] inscape was distinct and extraordinary. It was very difficult [for Qiji] to compete with him. However, Qiji's poetry can be compared to the works of those late monks like Jiaoran and Lingyi, no less and no more.
> 議者以唐末詩僧，惟貫休禪師骨氣渾成，境意倬異，殆難儔敵。至於皎然、靈一已禪者，並趨於風騷之途，不近不遠也。[374]

Qiji exchanged poetry with many literati and received much praise from the secular poets. His skill in poetry writing was not doubted by his contemporary poets.

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[372] Sun Guangxian quoted a poem (title lost) of Zhen Gu in his preface praising Qiji's poetry as "the standard of your [poetic language] is clear, and there is no secular word; you think hard, and there is white beard on your face." [格清無俗字，思苦有蒼髭。] Zhen Gu regards that Qiji's poetry expresses a sense of clarity which makes his poetic language extraordinary. "Preface", Sun Guangxian in *BLJ*, 1b.

[373] There is a short passage on *feng gu* 風骨 (wind and bone) in *Wenxin diao long* 文心雕龍 (*Literary mind and crafted dragon*): "The transmission of the disconsolate feelings always begins with wind; but nothing has priority over bone's disposing the words, as one intones them thoughtfully. The way in which the words depend upon bone is like the way in which the skeleton is set in the [human] form." [是以怊悵述情，比始乎風，沉吟鋪辭，莫先於骨。故辭之待骨，如體之樹骸。] Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 219. *Feng* 風 (wind) should be relevant to the expressions of the feelings; *gu* 骨 (bone) signifies the essential structure of a literary work.

[374] *ZHDD*, 4: 1170 .

However, Sun Guangxian's comparing Qiji only to other poet-monks and not to the literati indicates that Sun Guangxian sets the poet-monks apart from the secular poets. This separation is likely to be based on the different teachings Buddhist and secular scholars followed.

The other important sign how the poet-monks' religious identity weighed on the literati's appreciation of their poetry was that monk *shi* poetry was generally not measured in secular *shi* poetry tradition and only appreciated as works of the Buddhists. Both secular literati and poet-monks read monk *shi* poetry as Confucian learning. Therefore it should be accepted that monk *shi* poetry could perform the assumed functions of *shi* poetry—for example, for the socio-political purposes—in the Confucian conon tradition. However, monk *shi* poetry was mainly appreciated as an art to express Buddhist spirituality among secular literati, and other characteristics in monk *shi* poetry were not received as an accustomed feature for monk *shi* poetry. The Ming (1368-1644) scholar Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559) appreciated a poem of Guanxiu:

> Guanxiu also had a poem "The frost moon lingers in the night; the *qiang* flute is played urgently in the tower. Evenings winds keep blowing; the wilted plum blossoms fall on the river." Guanxiu was famous during the Late Tang. This poem has a quality of music bureau poetry (*yuefu*), but it is not a typical characteristic of the Buddhist monks. It is like monk Huixiu's *biyun* (Clouds in the blue sky) poem.
> 貫休又有「霜月夜徘徊，樓中羌笛催。晚風吹不盡，江上落殘梅。」一首。貫休在晚唐有名，此首有樂府聲調，雖非僧家本色，亦猶惠休之碧雲也。[375]

Yang Shen senses in this poem a quality of *yuefu* poetry, perhaps due to the images of *shuang yue* 霜月 (frost moon) and *qiang di* 羌笛 (*Qiang* flute) frequently seen in

[375] *ZHDD*, 4: 841.

yuefu poetry on the frontier. However, he comments that such quality is not a typical characteristic in monk *shi* poetry. Is the *yuefu* quality really rarely found in monk, particularly Guanxiu's, poetry? Guanxiu, according to Wu Rong's preface, was a *yuefu* poet, and *yuefu* was traditionally a poetic form with political incentive.[376] Even if Guanxiu's political incentive in poetry was acknowledged, his socio-political admonition was placed within the context of Buddhist compassion instead of the Confucian conon tradition. The Yuan scholar-official Xu Yan 徐琰 (1220-1301) wrote in his preface to a Southern Song publication of *Chanyue ji*:

> [Guanxiu] always wrote poetry as a play within samāthi. His worry about society and love of (text lost) was obvious in the works of the opening chapter. In the middle part of the poems he used the wisdom of non-being to explicate the supreme teachings. Those who read Guanxiu's poetry can immediately obtain the coolness of mind and be enlightened.
> 每以詩遊戲三昧，其憂世愛□之心則見於首卷之詞，中間以無得慧，說最上乘。晤之者可以頓獲清涼，睹之者可以開明心地。[377]

Xu Yan views that Guanxiu's poetry writing is *youxi sanmei* 遊戲三昧 (a play within samāthi). *Sanmei* 三昧 (samādhi) is a mental state in which the meditator is unified with the object of the meditation,[378] and therefore *youxi sanmei* is an expression of a meditator being highly skilful in meditation. In Xu Yan's opinion, Guanxiu writes poetry with Buddhist compassion for the welfare of society, and his compassion was ultimately to enlighten the reader towards Buddhist wisdom.

The literati appreciated monk *shi* poetry largely from the angle that it was written

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[376] The connection between *yuefu* and the social and political criticism has been convincingly argued by modern scholars. See for example Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Centre for Chinese Studies, 1992), 64-102.

[377] *ZHDD*, 4: 840b.

[378] See the discussion of Zongze 宗賾 on meditation methods in *Chanyuan qinggui*, De Bary, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition: from earliest times to 1600, vol. 1*, 522-4.

by devoted Buddhists and therefore for Buddhist values. Nature imagery symbolises the poet-monks' unworldly career, and the literati particularly appreciated this characteristic in monk *shi* poetry. The Song scholar Cai Tao 蔡絛 (1046-c. 1126), for example, viewed that monk *shi* poetry was an expression of the monks' unworldly career:

> Dongpo (Su Shi) said that monk poems should not have an air of vegetable and bamboo shoots, and the poet-monks took [Su Shi's] examination as a standard for their poetry writing. This is mistaken at present, and the poet-monks are writing with secular expressions. They do not know that their monastic duties and lifestyle, the atmosphere of water and woods should not lack [in their poetry]. If they take away the unworldly tone and make [their poems] the same with those of the secular poets, then what [of monk *shi* poetry] is worth of admiration? Qiji said, "In the deep spring, the travellers tour the temples; falling flowers, monks close the door." Huichong said, "Morning winds send the sounds of the chime far away; evening snows enter deeply into the corridor." Such couplets are true in words and reality, and are they not good couplets too?
> 東坡言僧詩要無蔬筍氣，固詩人龜鑑。今時悞解，便作世網中語，殊不知本分家風，水邊林下氣象，蓋不可無。若盡洗去清拔之韻，使與俗同科，又何足尚。齊己云：「春深遊寺客，花落閉門僧」，惠崇云：「曉風飄磬遠，暮雪入廊深」之句，華實相副，顧非佳句邪？[379]

Shu sun qi 蔬筍氣 (air of vegetables and bamboo shoots) is the typical characteristics belonging to monk *shi* poetry, usually containing descriptions of monks' monastic life, religious studies and nature scenery surround the monasteries.[380] Cai Tao countered Su Shi's opinion by arguing that monastic duties and lifestyle and nature surroundings were part of poet-monks' life. Expressions of monastic life and nature imagery were natural in monk *shi* poetry and marked their unworldly career. Cai Tao further used Qiji and monk Huichong's couplets to support his viewpoint: monastic life and nature

[379] *ZHDD*, 4: 1170.

[380] *Zhou*, 45-53. The vegetables and bamboo shoots were the main food of Buddhist monks, and therefore they are borrowed to symbolise the characteristics of monks in general.

imagery in monk *shi* poetry are true in words and reality, and this characteristic sets monk *shi* poetry apart from literati poetry.

The literati also particularly appreciated nature imagery, which in Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry symbolises the poet-monks' religious spirituality beyond the secular values. Qiji's poetry concentrated on his life experience in the monasteries, and nature imagery was strong in his poetry and naturally conveyed the qualities of a spiritual life. The literati particularly appreciated this ethereal quality in Qiji's poetry. For instance, Zhong Xing 鍾惺 (1574-1624) in *Tang shi gui* 唐詩歸 (Tang poetry collection) commented, "Qiji's poetry, there is an air of high integrity and spiritual subtlety assisting his mind and hands." [齊己詩，有一種高渾靈妙之氣，翼其心手。][381]

In comparison to Qiji, Guanxiu's poetry had more political incentive, and Guanxiu was clear about his ambition for an official career. However, these political incentives were rarely emphasised in the appreciation of Guanxiu's poetry after the Wudai period. For instance, He Shang 賀裳 (*fl.c.* 1662-1722) of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) wrote in *Zaijiu yuan shihua youbian* 載酒園詩話又編 (Continuation of Zaijiu yuan poetic talks):

> Poetry was already extremely bad during the Late Tang, and it did not have to wait until the Song to deteriorate. Most of the Late Tang poetry was stylistically refined but did not have vitality...Other poems were moreover vulgar and bad such as those of Du Xunhe and the monk Guanxiu. The bucolic quality in Guanxiu poetry is hard to endure...but he still had [good couplets] such as "Leaves mix with the autumn ants and fall; the monk brings the wild clouds with him and comes." "If high officials and famous scholars come to visit me, I boil the ice of the West Peak waterfall to brew tea."

[381] *ZHDD*, 4: 1170

詩至晚唐而敗壞極矣，不待宋人。大都綺麗而無骨……甚則粗鄙陋劣，如杜荀鶴、僧貫休者。貫休村野處殊不可耐……以尚有「葉和秋蟻落，僧帶野雲來。」「青雲名士如相訪，茶煮西峰瀑布冰。」[382]

He Shang thought the poetic language of Guanxiu's poetry in general is vulgar, but he still appreciates some parts of Guanxiu's poetry. These parts all express the lifestyle and spiritualiy of Buddhists monks living in monasteries surrounded by nature.

Reading monk *shi* poetry through the lens of their religious background is also common in the modern studies. The modern scholar Zhou Yukai, for instance, compares monk *shi* poetry and literati poetry:

> Poet-monks lived in the refreshing and quiet surroundings far away from the secular towns. The poet-monks meditated on nature and aimed to achieve enlightenment and realised their true nature...Nature was a projection of their mind. Therefore, poet-monks devoted themselves more than scholar-officials to nature...Many scholar-officials hesitated between the choice of a worldly life and an unworldly one. Nature was only a temporary spiritual relief for their bitterness and repression...They only took reclusion and avoided society to emphasise their high morale. They were impossible to be like poet-monks to treat nature as a living form of Buddha nature and a projection of one's mind. Scholar-officials could not devote their lives to live in nature and utterly avoid the bustlings of the secular world. One can say, "air of vegetables and bamboo shoots" of monk poetry has developed an aesthetic mode of profound tranquility and purity beyond the secular world and personal gains.
>
> 詩僧生活在環境清幽靜謐的深山古寺，遠離世俗城鎮，他們觀照山水，沉思冥想，以期頓悟自性……山林草木都是自我心靈的外化形式。因此他們比一般士大夫更多地把[illegible]地把蒸山水不過是他們暫時解脫苦悶的精神寄託……不過以隱居避世秉穩榜清高而已。然山他們不可能像大多數詩僧那樣把自然山水看作有佛性的生命以及自己心靈的外化形他們式，從而全部身心投入其中，徹底避開塵世的喧囂。可以說，僧詩正是以其"蔬筍式，氣"創造了一種超世俗、超功利的幽深清遠的審美範型。[383]
>
> 氣"創造了一種超世俗、超功利的幽深清遠的審美範型。[383]

[382] *ZHDD*, 842.

[383] *Zhou*, 49-58.

Zhou Yukai views that the nature surroundings of the monasteries incite poet-monks to concentrate on writing about nature in poetry, and nature imagery manifests their Buddhist spirituality and unworldly career. Literati, on the other hand, also wrote about nature in poetry, but nature symbolises their escape from the worldly affairs. Essentially, Zhou argues that monk poetry was largely about poet-monks' monastic life in nature, and monk *shi* poetry mainly expresses Buddhist spirituality.

Admittedly the clergy was different from the secular scholars because of their "unworldly" career, and the monks' moral superiority was based on their devotion to religion. It was natural of the literati to pay attention to the unworldly spirituality embedded in the poet-monks' religious career. However, their ideological division would also allow the literati to assume that the Buddhists managed only the Buddhist affairs; and monk *shi* poetry was not for Confucian purposes—to assist the state governance—because such worldly responsibilities did not belong to the monks. The Wudai official-literati's poems to Qiji and Guanxiu viewed the poet-monks mostly as religious masters instead of as their colleagues in the state management. For example, the Wudai scholar-official Xu Zhongya 徐仲雅 (*fl.c.* 930-947)[384] wrote in the poem *Zeng Qiji* 贈齊己 (Presenting [a poem] to Qiji), "In our Tang state there is a monk called Qiji; before he became a monk, he had the potential of being a grand councillor…On a bamboo rug in the winds among the pines as cold as ice, he always accompanied Chao Fu[385] and Xu You[386] and stretched his feet to sleep." [我唐有僧號

[384] Xu Zhongya was a minor official under the rule of the Chu king Ma Yin 馬殷 (852-930) and served in the court of his son Ma Xifan 馬希範 (r. 932-947). *TCZZ*, 4: 480.

[385] Chao Fu 巢父 is said to have been a virtuous man in the time of the sage king Yao. He lived in the mountains and nested on a tree.

[386] It is said that the sage king Yao wanted to pass his throne to Xu You 許由, but Xu You refused and ran away.

齊已，未出家時宰相器……一簟松風冷如冰，長伴巢由伸腳睡。][387] Xu Zhongya thought Qiji could have been a great official had he not become a Buddhist monk. Once Qiji became a monk, his virtues were compared to the mythic hermits such as Chao Fu 巢父 and Xu You 許由. Qiji as a Buddhist monk should stay disassociated from the politics.

A similar view was also on Guanxiu in the Shu court. Wang Kai 王鍇 (*fl.c.* 907) served as an Attendant Gentleman in Wang Jian's court. His poem below to Guanxiu serves as an example:

Presenting [a poem] to master Chanyue	贈禪月大師[388]
I always love my master's personality of being natural.	長愛吾師性自然，
You are like the white moon in the centre of the sky or the lotus in the water.	天心白月水中蓮。
Your supernatural power spreads farther than the sands of the River Ganges;	神通力遍恆沙外，
The fame of your poetry is as high as that of Li Sidao.[389]	詩句名高八米前。
When visiting you, I do not hear that you shake your tin staff[390] and go out during the day;	尋訪不聞朝振錫，
When studying the religious teachings, you only talk about practicing meditation at night.	修行唯說夜安禪。
There is nothing to do during the peaceful time;	太平時節俱無事，

[387] *QTS*, 11: 8650.

[388] *QTS*, 11 : 8631.

[389] *Bami* 八米 is *bamishi* 八米詩 which mean someone can compose many good poems. This allusions come from the poet Lu Sidao 盧思道 (535-586). He firstly served in the Bei Qi 北齊 (northern Qi). When the emperor Gao Yang 高洋 (r. 550-559) died, each court literati was requested to compose ten poems in memory of Gao Yang. The good poems would be selected to present. Lu Sidao alone had eight of his poems selected. Thus he was called *Bami Lu lang* 八米盧郎 (Gentleman Lu of eight poems).

[390] Buddhist monks use a tin staff. On the head of the staff there is decoration of rings. When the monks walk, they shake the staff and make sounds. That Guanxiu did not shake his tin staff means that he did not travel away.

Do not reserve your leisure and come to talk about your writing[391]. 莫惜時來話草玄。

Wang Kai's poem is full of praise to Guanxiu and regards him as a master of both poetry and Buddhism. However, Wang Kai does not mention at all that Guanxiu being an official also shared a responsibility in the state management. Guanxiu might be a Buddhist master and a great poet, but he was not a colleague in politics to Wang Kai.

4.1.3. The general characteristic of monk *shi* poetry

The literati's particular appreciation of the ethereal qualities in Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry shows their ideological bias. The topics of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry were not confined to Buddhist issues, and it was the same for poet-monks of later generations. According the Song critic Cai Tao, many poet-monks at Cai Tao's times in fact wrote poetry with secular expressions ("*shiwang zhong yu* 世網中語 (secular expression)" See the quoted passage on p. 162.) Neverthelss he argued that monk poetry was different from literati poetry in spiritual expressions. Cai Tao clearly had a bias that monk *shi* poetry should manifest the poet-monks' unworldly pursuit. In spite of Cao Tao's refusal, the secular expressions might actually be the typical characteristic of monk *shi* poetry. Cai Tao also noticed that Guanxiu was writing poetry for socio-political purposes, but he contextualized Guanxiu's intention entirely within the Buddhist tradition. For the secular scholars Cai Tao and Yang Shen, monk *shi* poetry was the Buddhist monks studying a Confucian art but still serving the Buddhist purposes. The literati's selective appreciation of monk *shi* poetry is misleading when judging the overall characteristics of monk *shi* poetry.

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[391] Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53-18 BC) wrote *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 (*Classic of ultimate mystery*). "At the time Yang Xiong was writing *Taixuan*. He had no contact with others and was quiet." [時揚雄方草太玄，有以自守，泊如也。] Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 7: 3565.

Considering the teachings of external learning, the most significant characteristic of monk *shi* poetry in fact should be its general *similarity* with literati poetry. What *similarity* suggests is the poet-monks followed the writing style of literati poetry—the preference of poetic form, substance and expressions were largely similar. The stylish similarity does not imply an absence of religious reference in monk *shi* poetry. Many literati accepted Buddhism and expressed their faith in poetry, so there was no need for poet-monks to banish religion totally from their poetry. Monk *shi* poetry as external learning was to demonstrate the monks' knowledge in *shi* poetic art as well as to promote Buddhism. Therefore evaluating monk *shi* poetry had to consider both the secular and Buddhist aspects of the study. It actually strayed from the fundamental spirit if monk *shi* poetry was very different from literati poetry. Following the teachings of external learning, a poet-monk would desire his *shi* poetry to be as similar to literati poetry as possible and, if feasible, to promote Buddhism at the same time.

Other reasons why monk *shi* poetry was similar to literati poetry lay in the education background of poet-monks and the power relationship between the poet-monks and secular scholars. The poet-monks, as already mentioned, were mainly either converted secular scholars or young talents who grew up and received education in the monasteries. The converted poet-monks' study of the Confucian canons as external learning was a continuation from their secular life. The monastery-nurtured poet-monks could easily be influenced by the mainstream poetry through exchanging and studying poetry with the secular poets.[392] In theory, the converted

[392] The monastic education system developed during the Southern and Northern dynasties (420-589) and its system was further structured during the Sui and Tang dynasties. The Buddhist monasteries took

poet-monks and monastery-nurtured poet-monks could choose to write poetry against other teachings in order to promote Buddhism. However, monk *shi* poetry as a form of communication naturally considered the poet-monks' relationship with the non-Buddhists. The unequal political relationship between Buddhists and secular officials naturally induced the poet-monks to stress on their commonality and follow the writing styles of literati poetry instead of developing their own style. However, the stylistic similarity does not imply an absence of religious reference in monk *shi* poetry. Many literati accepted Buddhism and expressed their faith in poetry, so there was no need for poet-monks to banish religion totally from their poetry.

The next section re-evaluates the characteristics of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems as external learning in comparison to their contemporary literati poetry.

4.2. The Characteristics of Guanxiu and Qiji's Poetry as External Learning

Several modern studies have focused exclusively on the socio-political issues and Buddhist spirituality in Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry and study these topics from the Confucian and Buddhist perspectives, respectively. However, Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry as external learning shows similarities with literati poetry in writing style, form and material with an emphasis on the commonalities between Buddhism and other teachings in their poetry. Section 4.2 investigates these stylistic similarities and

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in promising young children to educate them as part of their welfare programme. Ding Gang 丁鋼, *Zhongguo fojiao jiaoyu: ru fo dao jiaoyu bijiao yanjiu* 中國佛教教育--儒佛道教育比較研究 (Chinese Buddhist education: a comparative study of Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist educations) (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 100-42. According to Cao Shibang's studies, the students in the monasteries were taught firstly the traditional canonical studies including Confucian and Taoist works before they studied the Buddhist sutras seriously. Cao Shibang 曹仕邦, *Zhongguo shamen waixue de yanjiu: Han mo zhi Wudai* 中國沙門外學的研究—漢末至五代 (A study of the external learning in Chinese monasteries: from the end of the Han to Wudai), 13-26.

philosophical commonalities.

4.2.1. Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry on socio-political issues

Writing poetry for socio-political purposes was at the core of the canonical poetry tradition. As previously mentioned, several modern scholars read some of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems as a political admonishment in the cononical tradition,[393] and the topics of these poems were within the general thematic trend of literati poetry. For instance, writing one's reflection of history with a moral judgment was a popular poetic theme during the Late Tang and Wudai periods.[394] Guanxiu and Qiji also had some poems on history which show similarities in materials and narratives of literati poetry.

History meant to serve as an example for the current government to prevent repeating the wrongs. Below is a comparison between the works of Li Shanfu 李山甫 (*fl.c.* 860-874) and Guanxiu.

Meditation on the past at Shangyuan festival By Li Shanfu	上元懷古[395]
Southern Dynasties' emperors doted on panache,	南朝天子愛風流，
As for holding all their rivers and hills they didn't make it.	盡守江山不到頭。
By and large through battle and struggle they managed to get it,	總是戰爭收拾得，
But then through song and dancing it was ruined and lost.	卻因歌舞破除休。
Yao practiced virtue and morals and never had a rival,	堯行道德終無敵，

[393] See the relevant discussion, pp. 92-5.

[394] Liu Jie 劉潔, *Tangshi ticai leilun* 唐詩題材類論 (On the Tang poetic themes) (Beijing: Minzhu chubanshe, 2005), 146-62.

[395] Stephen Owen's translation with some modification, *LT*, 218. *Shangyuan festival* (*Shangyuan jie* 上元節) is another name of *Yuanxiao jie* 元宵節, the festival on the fifteenth day of the first lunar calendar.

Qin held a fastness of metal and boiling water, but could it do as it pleased?	秦把金湯可自由。
If you ask of that splendour and glory where to find it now—	試問繁華何處有，
Rains on moss, misty grass *autumn* in the ancient city.	雨苔煙草古城秋。

Li Shanfu's poem starts with accusing the emperors in the Southern dynasties for indulging in their pleasure and so losing their country. The second couplet pursues this theme and laments that the establishement gained through hard work could easily fall by excessive enjoyment. The third couplet turns to the moral lesson that only virtuous ruling like the sage king could keep a country prosper. *Jin tang* 金湯 (metal and boiling water) are symbols of military weapons, but a military powerful country like the Qin built on force could not last long as it had wished. The ending couplet concludes where the glory of the Southern dynasties used to be is now in ruins.

The next poem is by Guanxiu on a palace of the Chen (557-589), one of the Southern dynasties.

Chen palace lyric	陳宮詞[396]
By Guanxiu	
I ponder on the time when the palace was lively;	緬想當時宮闕盛，
The indulgent feasts and the empress' palace defied [the teachings of] the sage Yao.[397]	荒宴椒房慢堯聖。
Jade trees and flower songs are [seen and heard] among the flowers;	玉樹花歌百花裡，
In the coral window the sun sprung from the sea.	珊瑚窗中海日迸。
The great vassals came to the court, but the emperor was still drunk;	大臣來朝酒未醒，
After waking up from the drunkenness, he usually would not listen to the faithful admonition.	酒醒忠諫多不聽。
The Chen palace therefore became wild farming field;	陳宮因此成野田，

[396] *CYJ*, 32.

[397] *Jiaofang* 椒房 (pepper room) means *Jiaofang dian* 椒房殿 (pepper room palace). The empresses during the Han dynasty (202 BC-220 AD) resided in this palace, and *Jiaofang dian* has become a general term of the residence of the emperor's consorts.

The farmer ploughed and broke the courtesan's mirror.	耕人犁破宮人鏡。

The first two couplets describe the indulgence and luxury in the palace. The third couplet accuses the Chen emperor not to listen to the admonition of the loyal vassals. The excessive enjoyment finally brought down the Chen ruling, and the last couplet depicts the Chen palace ruined to be a piece of farming field. The themes in Li Shanfu and Guanxiu's poems are essentially the same: the emperor over-indulged their material and sensual enjoyment and would not take the example of the sage kings, which eventually brought about the ruin of the state. Both poems conclude that the once lively palaces all became an utter ruin. Such a theme is repeatedly seen in the poems on history. Below is a poem of Li Shangyin 李商隱 (c. 813-c.858) serving another example:

On history	詠史[398]
I have read of all former worthies, of their families and domains;	歷覽前賢國與家，
Success came from earnestness and restraint, ruin came from excess.	成由勤儉破由奢。
What need must it be amber before one can have a pillow?[399]	何須琥珀方爲枕？
Why should one have to have pearls in order to have a carriage?[400]	豈得珍珠始是車？
Fate's cycle wanes, one does not find Kokonor horses;[401]	運去不逢青海馬，

[398] Stephen Owen's translation. *LT*, 412-3. There are several footnotes in Owen's translation which are importance for the reader's comprehension of the poem. Therefore I quote them in the six footnotes below, too.

[399] There are several amber pillow mentioned in the historical record. Zhou Zhenfu and Ye cite the most famous example of the amber pillow included in the gifts to Zhao Feiyan when she became empress. This best fits the context. *Jijie* prefers an allusion to another amber pillow presented as a tribute gift to Song Wudi. On his campaign north, Wudi learned that amber bould heal wounds made by weapons and ordered that the pillow be broken up and distributed to his generals. *Jijie* clearly interprets the line as an example of frugality and restraint. Ibid.

[400] *Shi ji*, *Tian Jingzhong Wan shijia* 田敬仲完世家 (The hereditary house of Tian Wan): King Wei of Qi met the king of Liang, who boasted that although his domain was small, he had huge pearls to adorn the princely carriages. King Wei of Qi responded that his treasures were of a different sort and began enumerating his advisers, whose "light shone a thousand leagues." Ibid.

Strength runs out, one cannot pull up the snake in Shu's mountains.[402]	力窮難拔蜀山蛇。
How many men could ever anticipate the song of the aromatic south wind? —[403]	幾人曾預南薰曲？
At Cangwu for eternity they weep for the kingfisher bunting.[404]	終古蒼梧哭翠華。

The whole is written in a narrative of reasoning with questions and arguments. The poet keeps a sober distance from the course of history when giving a comment. The first couplet already sets the message of the poem: Li Shangyin writes about his reflection after examining the historical worthies' management of their families and domains, and he concludes that "success came from earnestness and restraint, ruin came from excess." The rest of the poem elaborates on that message.

One of Qiji's poems also shows stylistic similarity with Li Shangyin's poem:

Allegory	寓言[405]
How can Heaven secure prosperity?	造化安能保，
People dig in the mountains and rivers and almost turn them upside down.	山川鑿欲翻。

[401] *Sui shu*, *Xiyu zhuan* 西域傳 (momoir of the western lands): At the onset of winter the Tuyuhun people of Kokonor place a mare on an island in Kokonor to "get the dragon seed." The resulting colt is called a Kokonor Dapple. Ye thinks this reference is incorrect and takes the line as referring to the "horses of heaven" of Han Wudi's reign, which ceased to be sent to China when Han fortunes declined. Although Kokonor is not mentioned specifically, it is representative of this horse-producing region. Ibid.

[402] The reference here is to the story, found in several sources, of how the king of Qin promised five beautiful maidens in marriage to the king of Shu. The latter sent five strong men to fetch the women. In the mountains they came upon a huge snake, which disappeared into a hold. When the five men joined forces to pull it out, the mountain collapsed and the way between Qin and Shu was opened up.

[403] The "South Wind" was the name a song played on a zither by Shun: "The aroma of the south wind/ can release my people from their woes." [南風之薰兮，可以解吾民之慍兮。] Ibid.

[404] Shun was buried at Cangwu, The "kingfisher bunting"refers to banners in the royal regalia. Ibid.

[405] *BLJ*, *juan* 1: 18a; *QTS*, 12: 9443.

The precious is unearthed;	精華銷地底，
The jewellery is gathered in the houses of the Marquis.	珠玉聚侯門。
This is the base of arrogance and excesses firstly;	始作驕奢本，
In the end it becomes the root of chaos.	終爲禍亂根。
The family and the country fall;	亡家與亡國，
Other than this, what more can I say?	去此更何言。

In this poem Qiji expresses his opinion about the causes to the fall of families and countries. It is possible that this poem commented on the fall of the Tang government which happened during Qiji's lifetime. In the first two couplets he questions if a government could last under the mandate of the invisible Superiority when the resources of the mountains and rivers are being exhausted, and the officials are corrupted. Qiji describes in the next two couplets that greed and excess are the cause to the social disturbance and the fall of the governance. Like Li Shangyin's poem, Qiji takes a role of distant and rational commentator on the course of history. The whole poem is written in the reasoning narrative, and the message is essentially the same as Li Shangyi's poem: that greed is the ruin of the establishment.

The poets had similar inspiration to examine the course of the (largely) political history and extract a moral lesson out of their observation. The tone of the poems is a reasoning narrative with constant questioning and provided answers.

More than the material and narrative resemblance, Guanxiu and Qiji's poems show a Confucian viewpoint more than a Buddhist one. Guanxiu was clear that he wrote poetry for a socio-political purpose, and his works on the socio-political issues often used the Confucian reference and did not have a particular religious tone. Below is the first poem of Guanxiu in the poem series (*zu shi* 組詩) *Ou zuo wu shou* 偶作五首 (Five occasional compositions):

Five occasional compositions		偶作五首
(1st of 5)	之一[406]	
Who could believe that the fire in the heart is so great		誰信心火多，
That it will burn a great country!		多能焚大國。
Who could believe that the white hairs at the temples		誰信鬢上絲，
Are spun from the belly of silkworms!		莖莖出蠶腹。
I have heard about a woman who keeps the silkworms;		嘗聞養蠶婦，
She climbs up the mulberry tree before dawn.		未曉上桑樹。
She climbs down the tree and feeds the hungry silkworms;		下樹餵蠶飢，
She cannot take care of her son when he cries.		兒啼亦不顧。
After one spring her earnings are gone;		一春膏血盡，
It is not because she pays only the national tax.		豈止應王賦。
How cruel are the cruel sub-official functionaries!		如何酷吏酷，
They have searched and taken all her earnings off.		盡爲搜將去。
The silkworms turn into moths and fly away;		蠶蛾爲蝶飛，
The false leaves have filled up the tree branches in vain.[407]		僞葉空滿枝。
The sorrowful weaver shuttle and the hateful weaver machine;		冤梭與恨機，
Each time she glances at them, each time her tears drop on the clothes.		一見一霑衣。

This poem tells a sad story of a female silkworm keeper who was so busy to look after the silkworm to be able to pay the heavy tax that she could not feed her child properly. The image of a female silkworm keeper picking mulberry leaves reminds the reader of the beautiful and loyal wife Luofu 羅敷 in the ballad *Mo shang sang* 陌上桑 (*Mulberry along the Lane*).[408] The twist of the Luofu image was a deliberate distortion of an established poetic personage generally upheld by the scholars to create a striking artistic impression of reality. It is unknown when Guanxiu wrote this poem, but he might have been inspired by the harsh social condition for the peasants during the Late Tang period. Shortly before the uprising of Huang Chao 黃巢 (d. 884)

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[406] *CYJ*, 115-6.

[407] The insects look like leaves, which is their natural cover from predators.

[408] Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, 210.

in the year 878, there were constant famines all over the Tang territory. However the government continued to force heavy taxes on the people. Had Luofu lived as a silkworm keeper in such a time, she would also have had a hard life. A distortion of a well known classical Luofu image amplifies the impression of the great suffering of the people. The criticism about the tax on the silkworm keeper is clear in Guanxiu's poem. The poem starts with a "great fire in the heart", anger of the people, which could burn a great country, and the story of the silkworm keeper explains "the fire in the heart" was set by the oppression of the tax and unkind governance of the officials. Guanxiu could easily write about anger in the Buddhist context as Hanshan's *ji* verse such as "Anger is the fire in the mind; it can burn the woods of guṇa."[409] [嗔是心中火，能燒功德林。][410] However, Guanxiu chose a conventional personage in the Confucian tradition to elaborate the fire in the mind. Given that Guanxiu employed the reference of Luofu personage in the Confucian tradition, Guanxiu's moral judgment can be based on the Confucian teachings. To assume Guanxiu's moral strength sourced from Buddhism is a circumstantial interpretation based on Guanxiu's religious identity outside the text.

Qiji also had a poem criticising the unfair treatment of the peasants in the tax system:

Old farmer	耕叟[411]
The spring winds blow the coir raincoat;	春風吹蓑衣，
The evening rain drops from the straw rain hat.	暮雨滴箬笠。
The married couple farm together;	夫婦咿共勞，

[409] *Gongde* 功德 (guṇa) is the spiritual reward of one's good conduct.

[410] *QTS*, 12: 9074.

[411] *BLJ, juan* 10: 196a; *QTS*, 12: 9584.

The hungry children cry to each other.	兒孫飢對泣。
The crops in the field grow high but thin;	田園高且瘦，
The tax is heavy and needs to be paid hastily.	賦稅重復急。
The rats and sparrows of the governmental stores	官倉鼠雀羣，
Are just waiting for the newly paid crops.	只[412]待新租入。

This poem criticizes the unfair tax system pressing on the peasants. The peasants are working hard, but their children are starving. The harvest is poor, but the peasants are pressed by the tax which consists of the crops from the harvest. However, the crops are not used for any good purpose but eaten only by the sparrows and rats in the governmental store. The criticism of the inflexible tax system is clear. Qiji's sympathy for the oppressed peasants can be found equivalent in literati poem too, for example, Yao He wrote in the poem *Zhuangju ye xing* 莊居野行 (Stay over at a village and travel in the countryside), "I travel in the countryside along the farming fields; the houses next to each other all close their door. I ask the people in the house; they said that they all went to do business. The officials do not tax the businessmen; but they tax the farmers who labour hard." [客行野田間，比屋皆閉戶。借問屋中人，盡去作商賈。官家不稅商，稅農服作苦。][413] Being a peasant one not only has to work hard but also is unfairly taxed. Yao He also sympathised with the peasants. He did not write directly about the peasants' hard labour and mistreatment under the tax system but used the absence of the peasants to indirectly express the unendurable life for them as farmers. Qiji and Yao He's political angles are similar about the unfair tax system to the peasants. There is little hint in Qiji's poem indicating the poet's religious background, and if the religious identity of Qiji was not known, it would be fairly easy to read the poem *Geng sou* 耕叟 (Old farmer) as another secular scholar's work.

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[412] *QTS*: *gong* 共 (together)

[413] *QTS*, 8: 5661.

There is little implication in the quoted poems of Guanxiu and Qiji indicating the poets' religious background. Without clear religious reference, the stylistic resemblance allows monk *shi* poetry to be read on account of its art instead of the religious background of the poets. Even if the reader knows that the poet was a Buddhist monk, *shi* poetry as a cononical study is expected to express a Confucian viewpoint. The problematic issue here is: since Guanxiu and Qiji were Buddhist monks, should they promote teachings other than Buddhism? The moral ground expressed in Guanxiu and Qiji's poems is not entirely out of the context of Buddhist teachings, for Buddhists should have compassion for whoever suffers. The poet-monks' sympathy for the suffering peasants therefore was an appropriate Buddhist spirit. Guanxiu and Qiji's religious identity presumes the Buddhist teachings as the source of their moral values. With the emphasis on the common values, Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry embodies the notion that the Buddhist teachings were in harmony with the values of the Confucian canons.

4.2.2. Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry on "Buddhist" spirituality

The discussions in section 4.1 show that the poet-monks' religious identity tempted a selective appreciation that monk *shi* poetry expressed an unworldly spirituality in contrast to literati poetry of secular values. Being a Buddhist monk essentially means to live a "retired" life from the secular world. However, there were also people other than the Buddhist monks—namely the hermit-scholars and Taoist monks—choosing to live a retired life. The hermit-scholars in particular shared similarities with the poet-monks in terms of scholarship and socio-political position. The hermit-scholars were educated and versed in the Confucian canon scholarship. They claimed to retire from the politics, but nevertheless they had the potential to be appointed to official posts. Therefore it is worth comparing the poetry of Guanxiu and

Qiji with that of hermit-scholars with respect to the spirituality expressed in their poetry.

Fang Gan 方干 (809-888)[414] was a known hermit-scholar during the Late Tang.[415] However, Fang Gan was not always content with his retreat. When Wang Gui 王龜 (d. 874) became the Regional Inspector of Yuezhou 越州 (in today's Zhejiang), Fang Gan visited Wang Gui and recommended himself. Wang Gui appreciated Fang Gan and recommended the poet to an official post, but Wang Gui died before the recommendation was acted on.[416] The poem of Fang Gan below expresses his intention to leave the retired life and to search for a position in society again:

Leaving the mountains and sending [my poem] to Retainer Su	出山寄蘇從事[417]
My mind is like fire burning, and I frequently request recommendation;	寸心似火頻求薦，
Not until the hair at my temples is like frost I start giving up my ambition.	兩鬢如霜始息機。
At the opposite bank the rooster cries, I went spring farming;	隔岸雞鳴春耨去，
The dog next door barked at me when returning from evening fishing.	鄰家犬吠夜漁歸。
Leaning on the pine tree and giving a long whistle, I should be coarse;	倚松長嘯宜疏拙，
Wiping the stone and occasionally falling asleep, I refused any arguments.	拂石倦眠絕是非。
I thank Yuanyu[418] for sympathising with me being a wild and low man;	多謝元瑜憐野賤，

[414] Fang Gan gave up the pursuit of an official career and lived a retired life after his failure in the examinations in the Dazhong 大中 period (847-859). Sun Yingkui 孫映逵, *Tang caizi zhuan jiaozhu* 唐才子傳校注 (Biographies of the Tang talents, collated and notated) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan, 1991), 694.

[415] *TCZZ*, 3: 371-80.

[416] *TCZZ*, 3: 374-5. The original text recorded Wang Lian 王廉 (d. u.) instead of Wang Gui to be the Regional Inspector of Yuezhou. The notes in *TCZZ* correct this fault based on the historical records and Fang Gan's poem that the Regional Inspector should be Wang Gui.

[417] *QTS*, 10: 7476.

[418] Yuanyu 元瑜 was the literary name of Ruan Yu 阮瑀 (d. 212), who was one of *Jian'an qi zi* 建安七子 (seven scholars of the Jian'an period) the distinguished literary men praised by the Wei emperor

Sometimes turn around your carriage and shine your brilliance on me. 時迴車馬發光輝。

This poem might have been written when Fang Gan was still young because his hair was not white. However, the word *chu shan* 出山 (leave the mountains) suggests that Fang Gan lived a hermit life before his coming out. The first couplet indicates clearly that Fang Gan pursued an official post. The two middle couplets describe a hermit life and do not seem to fit in a poem clearly stating Fang Gan's ambition. However, the hermit life description is fitting in that Fang Gan led a hermit life before he leaves the mountains, and this hermit life improved Fang Gan's moral standing as an aid for self-recommendation. In the final couplet Fang Gan thanks the Retainer Su for his help while he still tries to procure a post. Fang Gan's decision to leave his hermit life and work for worldly success shows that a hermit-scholar was still a potential candidate for official posts. The poem of Guanxiu below describes a similar situation for Guanxiu as a Buddhist monk.

Twenty-four mountain living poems 山居詩二十
四首
(5th of 24) 之五[419]

After working hard [on refining poetry] from which my white hair multiply, 鞭後從他素髮兼，
Swelling clarity, racing green, and the chill breaks through the bamboo blinds.[420] 湧清奔碧冷侵簾。
No one likes the great and extraordinary literary works; 高奇章句無人愛，
The whole world despises me for being poor. 澹泊身心舉世嫌。
I cannot recite enough poetry on the white stone bridge; 白石橋高吟不足，
I am never tired of lying in the warmth under the rosy clouds. 紅霞影暖臥無厭。
I live in the mountains, but I have intentions other than living in the mountains;` 居山別有非山意，
Do not wrongly compare me to Song Xian. 莫錯將余比宋纖。

Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226) in *Lun wen* 論文 (*A discourse on literature*). Yuanyu was a complimentary figure to Retainer Su to whom Fang Gan was grateful.

[419] *CYJ*, 455.

[420] This line show the aesthetic qualities expressed in Guanxiu's poems after refining.

This is the fifth of the twenty-four series poems *Shanju shi* 山居詩 (Poems on the mountain living) written from the year 863 to 864 in Zhongling 鍾陵 (today's Jiangxi).[421] The first three couplets describe the general environment, activities and enjoyment of Guanxiu's retired life. However, in the last couplet Guanxiu points out that he does not plan to always live in the mountains, that is, the retired life. He urges the reader not to think of him as someone like Song Xian 宋纖 (274-355?)[422]. According to Song Xian's biography in *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin), Song Xian was a virtuous hermit-scholar and refused several official appointments. Being unlike Song Xian, Guanxiu implies his ambition to leave retirement and his desire for an official career. A few other *Shanju shi* also express a similar message. In the final couplet of the twentieth *Shanju shi* Guanxiu said, "I pretend to write new poems of 'Opposition to eremtism in retreat'; coming out is usually contradictory to my mind." [虛作新詩反招隱，出來多與此心乖。][423] Although Guanxiu seems to have a preference of mountain retirement in the couplet, he writes poems like *Fan Zhaoyin* 反招隱 (*Opposition to eremtism in retreat*) and suggests an opposite ambition. *Fan zhaoyin* is a poem written by the poet Wang Kangju 王康琚 (*fl.c.* 316-420).[424] This poem is directly against the scholars retiring to the wildness, and its renowned opening states, "Small hermits take retirement at the mountains and lakes; great hermits take retirement at the court and the market." [小隱隱陵藪，大隱隱朝市。] Guanxiu's choice of comparison is also an interesting one. *Fan Zhaoyin* was against the location of one's retirement but not retirement itself. One could live a "hermit" life among people. A Buddhist monk presumably has renounced the world and therefore a

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[421] The preface states the time and location when the poet-monk wrote these poems. When Guanxiu returned to Zhongling in the year 881, he revised the poems.

[422] Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 8: 2453.

[423] The 20th of *Shanju shi*. *CYJ*, 464-5.

[424] *XQHWNBCS*, 2: 953.

hermit, but perhaps a Buddhist hermit need not live in a remote place? Is Guanxiu really content with his mountain life? In the final couplet of another *Shanju shi* poem, Guanxiu clearly said, "There should be secular people coming to find me, through the misty layers of water and mountains." [應有世人來覓我，水重山疊幾層迷。][425] Guanxiu thinks his own virtue or ability is great enough to attract people to seek him in the remote mountains. Guanxiu might not be totally content of a reclusive life in the mountains. However, this does not mean that Guanxiu inclined to leave the clergy, and he never did so. What the poet-monk desires is perhaps what *Fan Zhaoyin* describes—to live a "hermit" life among the people, or at the court. Guanxiu's retirement from worldly affairs was not singularly defined by his cleric service because the political system allowed an educated monk the choice to become a monk-official and become involved with politics. Guanxiu wrote in the poem *Chunwan fang Jing hu Fang Gan* 春晚訪鏡湖方干 (Visiting Fang Gan at Jing Lake in the spring evening) to Fang Gan, "Do not be surprised at my frequent visits here; I also decide to retreat from the world." [莫訝頻來此，伊余亦隱淪。][426] Apparently Guanxiu did not consider himself as retired from worldly affairs by simply being a Buddhist monk, as he yet had to decide if he should disassociate himself from the worldly affairs.

Nevertheless, Fang Gan and Guanxiu both led a retired lifestyle at certain point of their lives. When they wrote about their life in retreat, their poems generally expressed a sense of belonging to their reclusive residence in nature. The poem below is Fang Gan's poem on his mountain living:

Mountain living in Zhanque　　詹碏山居[427]

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[425] The 21st of *Shanju shi*. *CYJ*, 465.

[426] *CYJ*, 382. .

[427] *QTS*, 10: 7450.

By Fang Gan

I love to live here, and my mind is at peace;	愛此棲心靜，
I have abandoned the road in winds and dust.	風塵路已賒。
More than ten bamboos;	十餘莖野竹，
One or two mountain flowers plants.	一兩樹山花。
The spring flows out in thin streams around the stones;	遶石開泉細，
Passing through the climbing weeds, the path slants.	穿蘿引徑斜。
No one understands the meaning of solitude;	無人會幽意，
I come and leave in the mist and rosy clouds.	來往在煙霞。

In this poem Fang Gan describes his mountain living as a life of peace, nature and solitude. The first couplet indicates that Fang Gan decides to abandon travel and live in the mountains. The middle couplets cultivate nature imagery and the final couplet comments that Fang Gan is content with his solitary life in the mountains. Guanxiu's poem on his mountain life expresses a similar lifestyle surrounded by nature:

Countryside living in autumn evening	秋晚野居[428]
I live in a desolate place where people cannot reach;	僻居人不到，
The pursuit of mine has been lonely since its beginning.	吾道本來孤。
There is mountain scenery in the garden;	山色園中有，
There is no poetry-demon existing beyond the material world.	詩魔象外無。
The frosted grains are red over the island;	霜禾連島赤，
The misty grass is withered by the bridge.	煙草倚橋枯。
Why should I look for a place for a reclusion?	何必求深隱，
[The scenery] in front of my door is like a painting.	門前似畫圖。

This poem starts with a clear message that the poet lived in a remote place, and this was what he wanted. The second couplet indicates that the poet is surrounded by nature, and the scenery of the material world inspires him to write poetry. The third couplet depicts the desolate nature scenery around the poet's lodge. The poet shows in

[428] *CYJ*, 327.

the ending couplet that he already lives in a remote place, and there is no need to further his retirement into an even more reclusive place. Both Fang Gan and Guanxiu's poems indicate that their retired life was a personal choice and contain the expressions of quiet and solitude. Guanxiu's poem expresses moral values frequently seen in the hermit-scholars' poems.

These poems of Fang Gan and Guanxiu show that the hermit-scholar and the poet-monk were similar in many aspects. It is not necessary to interpret Guanxiu's poems on his retired life exclusively for Buddhist spirituality. The poet-monk's poems can present the common values of all scholars who chose to live a life in retreat.

Monk *shi* poetry did not always refer to the Buddhist teachings as the source of the poet-monks' spirituality in eremtism. Two poems of Han Wo 韓偓 (844-923) and Qiji on their private lives are compared below. Han Wo lived at the same period as Qiji. His poem *Xiao yin* 小隱 (*Minor reclusion*) on his retirement presents a life of quiet and peace:

Minor reclusion	小隱[429]
By Han Wo	
I borrow a thatched house at the western side of the mountain;	借得茅齋嶽麓西，
I plan to live my life and farm till old age.	擬將身世老鋤犁。
In the morning I go to the market when the mist embraces the city wall;	清晨向市煙含郭，
In the cold night I return to the village when the moonlight shines on the brook.	寒夜歸村月照溪。
The window is brightened by the stove fire where the monk sometimes sits;	爐爲窗明僧偶坐，
The pine is breaking under the snow, and the bird startles and cries.	松因雪折鳥驚啼。
The difference between the spiritual mahogany tree and the morning mushroom has always existed;[430]	靈椿朝菌由來事，

[429] *QTS*, 10: 7792. See explanation of *Xiao yin* 小隱 (minor reclusion) in pp.181-2.

[430] Mohogany trees (*chun* 椿) are said to be able to live a thousand years. Morning mushrooms

I turn to laugh at Zhuangzi wanting to unify the nature of all things. 卻笑莊生始欲齊。

The first couplet points out the poet's intention to live like a farmer in a mountain thatched house. The second couplet explicates the poet's daily routine—leave home early in the morning to work and return late in the evening chill to home. The third couplet shows Han Wo occasionally has monk friends for company, but the poet is most of the time alone. The enduring tranquillity is manifested by the contrast of the bird startled at the pine branch suddenly broken under the weight of snow. This poem ends on the poet's comment on *Qiwu lun* 齊物 (*Discussion on making all things equal*) of *Zhuangzi*. Taoism encouraged individuals to let Nature run its course and not to interfere with it. This Taoist concept was further developed by some Neo-Taoist scholars such as *zhu lin qi xian* 竹林七賢 (the seven virtuous of the bamboo grove) during the period of political disunion to say that one should escape the socio-political duties actively in order to preserve one's moral values.[431] *Zhuangzi* as one of the three classics of Neo-Taoism symbolised the philosophy followed by the hermit-scholars. Han Wo's comment on *Zhuangzi* indirectly shows that he was living in reclusion. Below is a poem of Qiji for comparison with Han Wo's poem:

Early autumn, after the rains 新秋雨後[432]
By Qiji

The evening rains wash the milky way; 夜雨洗河漢，
There is inspiration coming into my mind to write poetry. 詩懷覺有靈。
New crickets are chirping at the bamboo fence; 籬聲新蟋蟀，
An old dragonfly is seen in the shade of the grass. 草影老蜻蜓。

(*chaojun* 朝菌) are said to be born in the morning and die in the evening. Han Wo sees that the two extremely different lifeforms have existed since time began and laughs at Zhangzi's attempt to equalize the life nature of mohogany trees and morning mushrooms.

[431] Hucker, *China's Imperial Past: An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture*, 201-3.

[432] *BLJ, juan* 1: 30ab; *QTS*, 12: 9444.

The quiet incites my desire for an occasion of writing leisurely thoughts;	靜引閑機發，
The cool winds blow and awaken my far-reaching thoughts.	涼吹遠思醒。
To whom am I to talk about the work *Xiaoyao you*?	逍遙向誰說，
I occasionally annotate the work of Qiyuan.	時注漆園經。

This poem is on a pleasant autumn evening after the rain, an atmosphere that inspired Qiji particularly to write poetry. The second couplet describes nature imagery of the poet-monk's surroundings. The quiet and cool atmosphere clarifies the poet-monk's mind for leisurely contemplation. The poems ends at the poet's reading *Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊 (*Free and easy wandering*), a chapter of *Zhuangzi*. *Qiyuan jing* 漆園經 means the work of Zhuangzi who was said to be a functionary of Qiyuan 漆園 (location uncertain).[433] Qiji's study of *Zhuangzi* implies that he lives retired life.

The two poems of Han Wo and Qiji on their retired lives are similar in many aspects. They express an atmosphere of quiet and cool prevailing in the pastoral surroundings. The poets enjoy their solitude in life and study *Zhuangzi* as an emblem of their eremitism. Qiji's poems did express spirituality, or the aesthetic qualities compatible with the Buddhist teachings, but he avoided advocating Buddhism as the sole philosophical source to his spirituality. Without emphasising their Buddhist background, Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry on their retired lives was not particularly different from the literati poetry on eremtism.

Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry stressed a spirituality belonging to a general intellectual eremtism rather than exclusive Buddhist morale. Guanxiu and Qiji did not

[433] Sima Qian 司馬遷 (BC 135-90) recorded that Zhuangzi had served as a functionary of Qiyuan 漆園 (lacquer garden) at the Meng 蒙 area. Kametarō Takigawa 瀧川龜太郎, *Shiji huizhu kaozheng* 史記會注考證 (Records of the Historian with compiled notations and textual studies) (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1993), 830a.

identify with only Buddhist eremtism; they also related themselves to the moral values of the hermit-scholars. This approach helped the Buddhist monks to associate with non-Buddhists as hermits whose religion was incidentally different. Particularly Guanxiu's poems to the officials were obviously meant to present himself as a hermit. In seven poems to different officials Guanxiu called himself as *yeren* 野人 (wild man), someone who was coarse in manners, just as Fang Gan described himself as *shuzuo* 疏拙 (coarse manner). Through emphasis on the similarities with the hermit-scholars in their poems, the poet-monks were able to extend their social role to hermit intellectuals. By doing so, the poet-monks increased the social base their spirituality stood for and decreased the possibility of being prejudiced by their religious background among the non-Buddhists.

Poet-monks' poems to their Taoist friends also show that monk *shi* poetry did not promote exclusively Buddhist spirituality. The debates of the three teachings held in the Tang court projected an image that the three teachings competed for state patronage. In reality, the private relationship between the Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist might not have been as tense as it seemed. Below is a poem of Guanxiu to a Taoist monk who was a good friend to him:

Sending two poems to Taoist monk Shu of the Chisong temple (2^{nd} of 2)	寄赤松舒道士二首[434] 之二
I am also like you;	余亦如君也，
The poetry demon does not dare disturb me.	詩魔不敢魔。
A meal and an afternoon nap;	一餐兼午睡，
Ten thousand things cannot compare to them.	萬事不如他。
The rains rush to the moon reflection in the river;	雨陣衝溪月，

[434] *CYJ*, 226-7. Chisongzi 赤松子 was an immortal in the ancient time. The story of his life has several versions. Many Taoist temples are named after Chisongzi.

The spider webs coil the nutgrass on the steps.	蛛絲罥砌莎。
Lately I heard that the mountain fruits ripen;	近知山果熟，
Do you still plan to send them to me?	還擬寄來麼？

The first two couplets show that Guanxiu was like his Taoist friend not to be disturbed by the poetry demon, enjoying the meal and afternoon nap. The third couplet describes the nature images possibly around the mountain temple. The final couplet discloses the friendship between Guanxiu and Taoist Shu was so good that the Taoist Shu would send the mountain fruit to the poet-monk. The tone throughout the poem is casual, which indicates the close friendship between Guanxiu and the Taoist monk Shu.[435] The poem emphasises the two friends' similar personalities and has no tension between the different teachings they represent.

Monk *shi* poetry as external learning was a practical means to enhance a friendly relationship with non-Buddhist. For instance, Guanxiu wrote in another poem *Su Chisong shan guan ti daoren shuige jian ji junshou* 宿赤松山觀題道人水閣兼寄郡守 (Staying overnight at the Chisong shan Taoist monastery, writing on the Taoist's water tower, and sending this poem to the Regional Inspector), "Should we be totally unrelated once we separate from each other? I heard that there are also Buddhist monks among the immortals." [豈應肘後終無分，見說仙中亦有僧。][436] This couplet shows Guanxiu meant to keep a harmonious relationship with his Taoist friend in spite of their different beliefs. Guanxiu even suggested that there are Buddhist monks among the Taoist immortals, which indicates Guanxiu believed a potential commonality between the Buddhist and Taoist teachings. From this perspective, it is

[435] In *Chanyue ji* there are seven poems addressed to the Taoist Shu, and all these poems show that Guanxiu and the Taoist were good friends.

[436] *CYJ*, 489.

not strange that some monk poems promoted teachings other than Buddhism, for example, Guanxiu wrote four poems *Meng you xian* 夢遊仙 (*Dreaming of the travelling immortal*)[437] about his dreaming of Taoist paradise. An emphasis on the commonalities between different teachings and keeping a smooth relationship with non-Buddhists were central in the pragmatic spirit of external learning.

Qiji also had a few poems to the Taoists,[438] and the poem below is an example.

Sending [a poem] to the Taoist Friend in Wuling	寄武陵道友[439]
At the place where Ruan Zhao was bewitched,[440]	阮肇迷仙處，
The Buddhist temple is receiving the purple clouds at dusk.[441]	禪門接紫霞。
I do not know the road to look for the crane;	不知尋鶴路，
How many *li* is it to enter peach blossom land?	幾里入桃花？
The shade of the evening tree sways over the moss;	晚樹陰搖蘚，
The shadow in the spring lake plays with the sands.	春潭影弄砂。
When will you invite me to visit you?	何當見招我？
I wish to ask you to give me a short span of life.	乞與片生涯。

The first couplet shows the image that the Buddhist and Taoist can live in

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[437] See the footnote 217.

[438] There are 12 poems in *Bailian ji* addressed to the Taoist monks.

[439] *BLJ, juan* 4: 86a; *QTS*, 12: 9490.

[440] Ruan Zhao 阮肇 was the character from one of the stories in *Youming lu* 幽明錄 (Records of the events of the human and the spirits) written by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444). Ruan Zhao and Liu Chen 劉晨 went into the mountains to collect herbs. They got lost and met two immortals. The two immortals received them well. They went back to their home after half a year, but it had been many years in the world. Feeling frustrated with the changed world, Ruan Zhao and Liu Chen decided to go back and look for the immortals. Later in the Yuan dynasty (1279-1367) this story was written into the drama *Wuru taoyuan* 誤入桃源 (Enter the deity land by mistake) by Wang Ziyi 王子一 (d. u.). Zang Jinshu 臧晉叔, ed., *Yuanqu xuan* 元曲選 (An anthology of the Yuan dramas) (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955), 4: 1353-67.

[441] *Zixia* 紫霞 (purple cloud at dusk) is said to be the vehicle of the immortals.

harmony: the Buddhist temple is located at the same place where Ruan Zhao is bewitched into the land of the immortals. The second couplet pursues the theme of the lost land of the immortals. Cranes are said to be the vehicles of the immortals; the peach blossoms symbolise *Taohua yuan* 桃花源 (peach blossom land), the utopian land in *Taohua yuan ji* 桃花源記 (*Record of the peach blossom land*) where the people live in harmony.[442] The third couplet customarily depicts the nature images. In the ending couplet Qiji would like to visit his Taoist friend and showed an interest to his friend's pursuit of an immortal life.

Guanxiu and Qiji's poems to the Taoist monks show clearly that the poet-monks did not disapprove of other religions and actually were on good terms with some Taoists. Qiji even showed an interest to request a short span of his friend's immortal life.

An even clearer piece of evidence that poet-monks were not confined to writing poetry solely within the Buddhist concerns is that they would write poems with dubiously fit to the Buddhist virtues. The poem *yuefu* poem *Cai lian qu* 採蓮曲 (Ballad of picking lotus flowers) of Qiji can erve as an example:

Ballad of picking lotus flowers	採蓮曲[443]
Girls of the Yue River,[444]	越溪女，
Lotus flowers of the Yue River;	越江蓮。

[442] The peach blossom land was found by a fisherman in Wuling. Xu Wei 徐巍, ed., *Tao Yuanming shixuan* 陶淵明詩選 (Selective poems of Tao Qian) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shangwu, 1983), 136-7. Considering the Taoist friend of Qiji was in Wuling, Qiji might use this allusion in the poem to symbolise the land of the immortals.

[443] *BLJ, juan* 10: 204b; *QTS*, 12: 9590.

[444] The Yue River locates in today's Zhejiang province.

They arrange the lotus flowers,	齊菡萏，
Both [the girls and the lotus flowers] are beauties.	雙嬋娟。
Where do you travel to and have fun?	嬉遊向何處，
You pick [the lotus flowers] in the same boat.	採摘且同船。
You sing with a strong voice, accompanying a radiant face;	浩唱發容與，
Clear waves when stimulated ripple.	清波生漪連。
Sometime you find an island and anchor there;	時逢島嶼泊，
Several times you fall asleep with mandarin ducks.	幾共鴛鴦眠。
Once the lotus flowers fill in your arms to chest,	襟袖既盈溢，
Their fragrance also spread.	馨香亦相傳。
In the dusk of sunset you return home;	薄暮歸去來，
Green smoke arises from Mt. Zhuluo.[445]	苧蘿生碧煙。

This poem can have two different interpretations of the subject matter. One can read *yue xi nü* 越溪女 (girl of the Yue River) as a plural term. It could be even as precise as two girls because of the implications of *shuang chanjuan* 雙嬋娟 (two beauties). However, this "two flower-picking girls" interpretation is only an option because "two beauties" could also mean both the girls and the lotus flowers. The girls pick the lotus flowers together and row in the same boat. They enjoy the time of picking flowers, travelling between islands and taking rest with the mandarin ducks. Once they have lotus flowers in full arms, they return home in satisfaction. The mention of Mt. Zhuluo 苧蘿山 (in today's Zhejiang province), the home of the ancient beauty Xishi 西施 in the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC), might be where the girls reside and is also an implication of the girls' beauty. The second interpretation of the subject is to read *yue xi nü* as a single term. With this interpretation one assumes that *shuang chanjuan* refers to both the girl and the lotus flowers. The person in the same boat with the flower-picking girl would be the poet himself. This interpretation is not wholly without in-text support because the

[445] Mt. Zhuluo 苧蘿山 (in today's Zhejiang province) is said to be the home to the ancient beauty Xishi 西施 in the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC).

mandarin ducks (*yuanyang* 鴛鴦) is a typical symbol for lovers in Chinese literature. Instead of a group of lotus-picking girls, it would be a lover couple rowing in a boat, picking flowers, travelling between islands and taking rest together. The traditional theme of *Cai lian qu* is a male poet's observation of the lotus-picking girls, and therefore both interpretations of the poem suggest mild eroticism, perhaps the second more than the first. The obvious problem lies in that the poet Qiji was a Buddhist monk who vowed for celibacy. One cannot eliminate the possibility of the second interpretation simply because the poet was a Buddhist monk. If a reader does not know the identity of the poet, this poem can easily be considered as a love poem. Therefore, Qiji could be transgressing the monastic codes by writing this poem.

Qiji, however, was not the only poet-monk writing poems that were not in accord with Buddhist virtues. There were similar cases in the previous period. Baoyue, as mentioned in the previous part, wrote love poems following the style of palace poetry in the court. The Middle Tang poet Qingjiang had a poem *Qixi* 七夕 (*The seventh of the seventh moon*)[446] with a romantic theme which was criticised by late Tang literati Fan Liu 范攄 (*fl.c.*874-879) as a violation of the customs for a monk.

Should poet-monks limit their poetic theme so as not to invoke suspicion over their religious commitment? Early Song Buddhist historian Zanning expressed his view on this issue in Qingjiang's biography in *SGSZ*:

> Qingjiang once wrote the poem *Qixi*, and some said that [his doing] was one of the four contradictions.[447] I will explain this: the poets' inspirations and recitation did not comply

[446] *QTS*, 12: 9174.

[447] Fan Liu wrote in *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 (Friends' talks at Yunxi) about *sibei* 四背 (four illogical matters). The first contradiction was that Supernumerary Lu Lun 盧綸 (c.739-c.799) wrote a poem as if he were a Buddhist monk. The second contradiction was that Qingjiang as a Buddhist monk wrote a love poem as if he were a layman having a relationship. The third contradiction was that the poet Liu

with the moral norms. Huixiu wrote *Yuanbie* (*sorrowful parting*); Lu Ji wrote *Qianniu xing* (*The star of the Ox herd*); Qu Yuan wrote *Xiang furen* (*Lady Xiang*). Are these poems meant to express eroticism? They were all allegories and inspirations [from the events] of the epoch. Otherwise one says "fire," and the mouth will be burned; one says "food," and it will satisfy the hunger...The [*Qixi*] poem was in fact to warn the people about the fickleness of the worldly affairs and attract them to obtain the Buddhist wisdom. Why did Qingjiang write it? [One will find the reason in] consulting Qingjiang's meeting with the state Monk Chief Zhong who enlightened [Qingjiang] about the mysterious teachings and instructed him not be restrained by the confining Hīnayāna teachings.
江嘗爲七夕詩，或謂之四背中一背也。通曰：詩人興詠用意不倫，慧休怨別，陸機牽牛星，屈原湘夫人，豈爲色邪？皆當時寓言興類而已。若然者言火則焚口，說食則療飢也矣……實爲此詩警世無常引令入佛智焉，其故何也？詳江遇忠國師大明玄理，無以域中小乘法拘之哉。[448]

In the quoted passage Zanning develops two tactics to defend Qingjiang's reputation as well as his right to write poetry on non-religious themes. Zanning firstly mentions some well-known love poems such as *Yuanbie* 怨別 (*sorrowful parting*), *Qianniu xing* 牽牛星 (*The star of the Ox herd*) and *Xiang furen* 湘夫人 (*Lady Xiang*) and argues that love poems could be allegories inspired by the events of the epoch. Zanning similarily treats Qingjiang's love poem *Qixi* as an allegory of the Buddhist teaching. Zanning argues that the literal meaning of the poems was not the "true" intention of the poets; Qingjiang meant to show his readers the fickleness of the human relationship and direct them toward the Buddhist teachings. Secondly, Zanning treats Qingjiang's love poem as a manifestation of the liberating Chan spirit. He

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Changqing 劉長卿 (709-c. 790) had good eyes but wrote a poem as if he were blind. The fourth contradiction was that Middle Tang poet Song Yong 宋雍 (*fl.c.*785-835) had bad eyesight but wrote a poem as if he had clear eyesight. This explanation can be found in Hanyu Da Cidian Bianji Weiyuanhui and Hanyu Da Cidian Bianzuanchu ed., *Hanyu da cidian bianji* 漢語大辭典 *(The grand Chinese dictionary)* , 3:584a. However, I cannot the relevant passage in two versions of *Yunxi youyi* recorded in *Shuofu* 說郛 (The wall of talks) edited by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329-1410). Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, ed., *Shuo fu san zhong* 說郛 *(Three versions of The wall of talks)* , 1: 108b-11a; 3: 1039a-41b.

[448] *SGSZ,* 802a.

explains that Qingjiang wrote this poem after an encounter with a certain state Monk Chief Zhong, who persuaded Qingjiang not to confine his spiritual pursuit in observing only Hīnayāna teachings. Qingjiang henceforth liberated his poetry writing from the "proper" topics and wrote the love poem in question as a spiritual expression. As all conduct could be a potential spiritual demonstration in the light of Chan Buddhism, Zanning conveniently relied on the Chan teachings to provide a religious cause for Qingjiang's love poetry. Treating Qingjiang's love poem as a religious allegory motivated by the Chan teachings, Zanning defended the religious reputation of Qingjiang and in the meantime also excused the lack of a religious reference in many other monk poems.

Zanning's allegorical treatment of Qingjiang's love poem and indirectly all other monk poems on questionable topics was, however, a retrospective interpretation. An allegorical reading of poetry had been a long literary tradition tracing back to *Great preface of Shi jing* and strongly engaged the traditional scholars' manner of reading poetry.[449] However, the allegorical reading was often accused of distorting the poets' true purpose and the meaning of the poems.[450] Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Two, there is no evidence that the Middle Tang poet-monks started writing *shi* poetry only after they received the Chan teachings and that their poetry was under a strong Chan influence. The popularity of Southern Chan Buddhism and the rise of poet-monks from the Middle Tang might be coincidental phenomena. Zanning's allegorical interpretation of Qingjiang's love poem *Qixi* was an imposition of religious relevance.

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[449] Saussy, Haun. *The Problem of a Chinese Aesthetic*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 74-106.

[450] Gu Ming Dong. *Chinese Theories of Reading and Writing: A Route to Hermeneutics and Open Poetics*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 181-206.

It was only Qingjiang's monastic background that suggested a need of religious relevance, but this relevance was not necessarily true in the poet's intention.

Why, then, did the poet-monks write poems obviously violating the Buddhist virtues? The poet-monks did not provide answers in their works. However, from the viewpoint of external learning it was a exhibition of their true commitment to poetic art and the fundamental spirit of external learning to demonstrate their knowledge of non-Buddhist learning. A monk like Qiji, who wast not satisfied with fitting his lines into rhyming patterns and who aimed to become a master of poetry, became able to explore various topics and poetic forms to cultivate his writing skill. Qiji was good at writing regulated verse, and *yuefu* compositions (twenty-seven out of 810 poems) were of a very small propotion in *Bailian ji*. The *yuefu* poems *Bailian ji* all followed the customary themes set by the previous *yuefu* poets and were not innovative in content or style. It was possible that Qiji wrote these *yuefu* as writing practice instead of a serious investigation of the potential of the genre. The poem *Cai lian qu* is a *yuefu* poem and possibly one of Qiji's writing practices. The poet-monk might simply have followed the customary theme of the title which was the story of the young girls picking lotus flowers with a mild indication of romance.[451] The poem *Cai lian qu* might appear as a lack of discretion in Qiji's poetic pratice, but it was precisely this lack that expressed the poet-monk's utter devotion to *shi* poetic art as external learning.

Qiji's *Cai lian qu* highlights the possibility of different readings of monk poetry. It is the reader's choice to interpret Qiji's poem as an erotic poem, or as a spiritual

[451] See the poems titled as *Cai lian qu* in Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 ed., *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (The collection of ballads) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 2: 731-6.

allergory, or just as a literary exercise. To restrain the interpretation of monk *shi* poetry only within a religious context is not only problematic but also diminishes the contextual richness it offers.

Buddhist spirituality is certainly a theme in monk *shi* poetry, but it should also be emphasised that the poet-monks also embraced the spirituality of the larger hermit communities of other teachings and various topics of *shi* poetry even those seem violating the Buddhist virtues. Guanxiu and Qiji's poems exclusively on Buddhist spirituality are discussed in the section 4.3.

4.2.3. Guanxiu and Qiji and the *kuyin* (painstaking recitation) poets

During the ninth and tenth century, poetry became an obsessive study to many poets. They devoted their time and mind exclusively to poetic art and hoped to distinguish themselves through their achievement in poetry. Below is a poem of Du Xunhe 杜荀鶴 (846-904) depicting his enthusiastic study of poetry:

Painstaking recitation	苦吟[452]
What thing is good in the world?	世間何事好，
The best would be poetry.	最好莫過詩。
I craft a single line on my own;	一句我自得，
People of four directions already know about it.	四方人已知。
There should not be a single day I stop reciting poetry while I am alive;	生應無輟日，
Only death would be the time I do not recite poetry.	死是不吟時。
I just planned to return to the mountains;	始擬歸山去，
The path to the woods and spring lies right here.	林泉道在茲。

Poetry is presented in this poem to be Du Xunhe's strong interest, and he would write

[452] *QTS*, 10: 7944.

poetry until the day of his death. However, Du Xunhe does not plan to keep this as a private study. The second couplet—that his crafted line would be known to a wide audience—indicates the poet's belief that he could distinguish himself through his craftsmanship in poetic art. Du Xunhe ends this poem with an intention to return to the mountains. Such a retreat was a common way in literature to highlight the poet's moral standing and devotion to his studies.

Many Late Tang and Wudai literati showed a similar commitment to poetic art and practiced *kuyin* 苦吟 (painstaking recitation) in their residences in the countryside. *Kuyin* referred to the practice of a long and concentrated process of poetry composition, and the process was such a hardship to the poet that it is described as *ku* 苦 (bitter). Pei Yue 裴說 (*fl.c.* 906), for example, who passed the *jinshi* examination in the year 906, wrote, "Do not complain to bitterly recite poetry until late; when the poem is finished the hair at the temples also become silky. The silky hair at the temples can still be dyed, but the illness of writing poetry is difficult to heal." [莫怪苦吟遲，詩成鬢亦絲。鬢絲猶可染，詩病卻難醫。][453] Pei Yue in these two couplets describes the poet's painstaking and time-consuming work to write good poetry. He uses "illness" as a figure to describe his obsession of poetic studies that compels him to endure the pain of poetry writing. That the poets emphasised the hardship of reciting poetry and even took this hardship as the theme for their poems began from the Middle Tang, and is usually thought to have been initiated by Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814) and Jia Dao 賈島 (779-843).[454] Li He 李賀 (790-816), who was known to

[453] *QTS*, 11: 8261.

[454] Wang Nan 王南, "*Kuyin shi lun* 苦吟詩論 (On painstaking recitation poetry)," *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao* 首都師範大學學報 (Journal of Capital Normal University), no. 2 (1995): 105.

study poetry obsessively, was also an important model for the *kuyin* poets.[455] The poets who practiced *kuyin* treasured poetic art as the highest study worthy of their pursuit and invested significant time and mind to compose and refine their poems to perfection.

Many of the Late Tang poet-monks were *kuyin* practitioners and wrote about their painstaking poetry writing. Guanxiu and Qiji were admirers of the poetry of the known *kuyin* poets Li He, Meng Jiao and in particular Jia Dao. Besides expressing admiration for the *kuyin* poets, Guanxiu and Qiji also studied poetry with many literati known to practice *kuyin* such as Xu Tang 許棠 (*fl.c.* 860-874) and Cao Song 曹松 (*fl.c.* 901)[456] Enduring and compulsive poetry composition was also a theme frequently seen in Guanxiu and Qiji's poems. The poet-monks' devotion to poetic art was little different from that of the secular literati. Below is a *kuyin* poem of Guanxiu on his enthusiasm about poetry writing:

Painstaking recitation	苦吟[457]
Thin Milky Way, sparse stars, solitary is the moon on a snowy evening;	河薄星疎雪月孤，
The pure airs through the pine branches enter my skin.	松枝清氣入肌膚。
Because I know exquisite lines have more worth than gold and jade,	因知好句勝金玉，
I suddenly do not have the exhaustion of mind and tiredness of spirit.	心極神勞特地無。

[455] Li He was said to ride out on a horse in the morning and pondered on the poetry. Whenever he was inspired, he wrote down the lines and put them in a bag. When he returned home in the evening his bag would be full of the written lines. *TCZZ*, 2: 288-9.

[456] Cao Song passed the *jinshi* examination in the year 901, the fourth of the Guanghua 光化 period. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 ed. *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 (Corrections and notations of Biographies of the Tang talents), 417-21. When Cao Song became a Presented Scholar, he and four others who passed the examination were all in their seventies. They were called *wu lao bang* 五老榜 (five elderly Presented Scholars list).

[457] *CYJ*, 450.

This regulated quatrain conveys a typical message of *kuyin* poems: the poet would recite poetry till late, and the poetic art is a study worth of the poet's utter devotion. Guanxiu, like other literati practicing *kuyin*, asserts his commitment to poetic art and a desire for its artistic perfection. Qiji wrote about his enduring process of poetry composition and refinement similarly:

Sending [my poems] to thank Gao the senior, who sent his poems to me (2^{nd} of 2)	寄謝高先輩見寄，二首之二[458]
Poetry has existed before the Chaos;	詩在混茫前，
The search for true poetry is as difficult as an utter mystery.	難搜到極玄。
Sometimes I accumulate my thoughts;	有時還積思，
Over a year I still have not finished a poem.	度歲未終篇。
The moon slices between the two pines;	片月雙松際，
High tower erects next to the wide water.	高樓闊水邊。
The precedent talents usually obtained [true poetry] at this time and location;	前賢多此得，
I wonder if their legacy can be passed on.	風味若爲傳。

In this poem Qiji appears enthusiastic about poetic art. The first couplet depicts poetry as a mystical entity having existed before the creation of the world, and it is extremely difficult to convey true poetry in the proper words. The second couplet tells of the poet-monk's strenuous effort to compose a poem fitting to the notion of true poetry. Qiji sometimes takes a whole year to write a poem but still fails to complete it. The third couplet is on the usual time and location—deep in the night and by the grand water—where Qiji thought the precedent poets successfully met their muse. Qiji ends with a wish that he could also be similarly inspired like the poets before. Like Guanxiu, Qiji valued poetry as a high art and was devoted to pursuing its artistic perfection through enduring *kuyin* practice.

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[458] *BLJ, juan* 4: 102b; *QTS*, 12: 9503.

It was certainly a virtue that the monks studied external learning, but there was no requirement that they should master their external learning to scrutinized perfection. The Late Tang poet-monks' voluntary devotion might be motivated by their admiration for the *kuyin* poets such as Jia Dao, but it was also possible that they tuned into the enthusiasm of the literati practicing *kuyin* with whom they studied poetry together. In any case, the poet-monks' *kuyin* practice was not an imposition of religion but an option offered in the mainstream literati poetry. The poet-monks did not have to be masters of poetry so as to interact with the secular scholars. However, in a literary atmosphere where *kuyin* was a common practice for the literati and provided common themes to write in their poems, the poet-monks preferred the same route to study poetry and were similarly inspired to write about their *kuyin* experience in their works.

More than a shared devotion to poetic art, the poet-monks also anticipated a similar ambition for writing good poetry like the *kuyin* poets. Other than studying poetic art for its own worth, poetry remained a means by which the *kuyin* poets distinguished themselves in the view of officialdom. In the works of the *kuyin* poets it was frequently seen that they desired to meet a *zhiyin* 知音 (a friend who can appreciate the talent), usually perceived as one who could appreciate their crafted poetry and had the political influence to help the poets to procure an official post. Cui Tu 崔塗 (*fl.c.* 885-888), for example, wrote honestly, "I recite poetry in the morning, again in the evening; by this hard work I hope only to have a friend who can appreciate my talent." [朝吟復暮吟，只此望知音。][459] Du Xunhe wrote a self-recommending poem to an official Li 李 and hoped his poem could prompt him to a

[459] *QTS*, 10: 7771.

place in the capital:

Respectfully Presented to Grand Master Li	投李大夫[460]
I have been obsessed with poetry since childhood,	自小僻於詩，
I hate that all my pieces are less than remarkable.	篇篇恨不奇。
I take pains composing without a day of respite,	苦吟無暇日，
My hair flecked with white for a very long time.	華髮有多時。
I work hard to advance, but the way through is hard to see;	進取門難見，
My fate, to rise or sink, is not yet known.	升沈命未知。
Last night the autumn wind blew hard,	秋風夜來急，
Yet I still fear it will be slow to get to the capital.	還恐到京遲。

The first two couplets emphasise the poet's singular devotion to poetry which occupies all his time. Du Xunhe's uncertainty about his fate is stated in the third couplet. The final couplet on the surface describes an autumn scene, but, according Stephen Owen's interpretation, it implies the poet's wish for official Li's recommendation, like the autumn wind, to swiftly place him in the capital.[461] Poetry was clearly a means for the literati to advance their official prospects, and it was not exceptional for the poet-monks, either. Guanxiu also desired to meet a patron who appreciated his talent and helped him to advance his career to officialdom.

Occasional composition (1st of 2)	偶作 二首之一[462]
A thousand new poems,	新詩一千首，
Like the embroidered silk of ancient pattern just finished from the weaver.	古錦初下機。
Other than the moon, ghosts and gods,	除月與鬼神，

[460] *QTS*, 10: 7939. Stephen Owen's translation with some modification, *LT*, 155.

[461] Ibid.

[462] *CYJ*, 38.

Nobody knows about them yet.	別未有人知。
Zhong Ziqi is gone and will not return;	子期去不返，
Is it not immensely sorrowful?	浩浩良不悲？
I do not know between Heaven and Earth	不知天地間，
Who else would be a friend understanding me?	知者復是誰。

In this poem Guanxiu compares his newly finished poems to the embroidered silk of the ancient patterns. However, no one knows about his poems, and he wishes to meet someone who appreciates his poems as Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期 (d. u.) understood Yu Boya's 俞伯牙 (d. u.) music. When the *kuyin* poets could not gain appreciation from their patron, they often reacted by retreating to the countryside and work harder on their poetry. The poem of Jia Dao below serves as an example:

After writing a poem	題詩後[463]
I spent three years to finish two lines;	二句三年得，
I recite them, and tears fall.	一吟雙淚流。
If my good friend cannot appreciate them,	知音如不賞，
I should return to the old mountains in autumn.	歸臥故山秋。

Jia Dao takes three years to perfect a couplet, and he is so emotionally involved that he starts crying when reciting it. However, the second couplet shows that Jia Dao does not write the poetry only for himself. The poet desires his poetry to be appreciated, or he would return to the mountains. Similarly, when Guanxiu presented his poems to the officials, he reacted similarly to the potential rejection. In the poem *Shang Gu Daifu* 上顧大夫 (Presenting to Grand Master Gu) Guanxiu wrote, "Today I respectfully present [my poetry] to the greatest judge; how can I not do my best? If my works are not good enough, I would return to the mountains and study harder." [今朝投至鑒，

[463] *QTS*, 9: 6692.

得不傾肝腦。斯文如未精，歸山更探討。][464] Like Jia Dao, Guanxiu also depended on the patron's appreciation to advance his official career and, if being rejected, was prepared to work hard until his works convinced the patron official.

The desire of meeting a patron and dependence on the patron's favour disclosed that the poet-monks were in a similar social position to the *kuyin* poets. The *kuyin* poets were usually from a less prominent family background. They studied poetry hard with a hope to pass the *jinshi* examination, but many could not succeed even after several attempts. Without a prominent pedigree, their hope for an official place relied on the patron official's recommendation.[465] Monks, on the other hand, could not take the state examination to prove their scholarship. The Buddhist monks, in particular those who grew up in the monasteries, usually also did not have a strong family background to help their career. Their prospect of officialdom entirely relied on the officials' recommendation and appointments. With a relatively humble background, both for the *kuyin* poets and the poet-monks the best hope for an official career was to distinguish themselves through their achievements in poetic art. Therefore, it was not surprising that many poet-monks took example of the *kuyin* poets and practiced *kuyin* in poetry writing.

Other than studying poetry for one's political ambition, *kuyin* practice also offered a clear objective to gain a name in literary field. Qiji, who claimed to be disinterested in an official career, was nevertheless keen to establish his name among the great poets.[466] To be acknowledged as a good poet, Qiji also relied on other

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[464] *CYJ*, 102.

[465] See the relevant discussion, pp. 75-8.

[466] See the relevant discussion, pp. 78-81.

established poets, usually those holding an official posts, to acknowledge his works. Like many *kuyin* poets, Qiji's humble monastic background would not provide him with easy access to the circle of the prominent poets. Qiji had to achieve literary prominence solely through his performance in poetic art. It therefore was natural that Qiji embraced *kuyin* practice and treated poetry as the highest form of art, dedicating himself to refining the lines to artistic perfection.

That the poet-monks taking the *kuyin* poets as models also suggests that their writing styles might be under the influence of the *kuyin* poets. The *kuyin* poets were fond of writing regulated verse, in particular of five-character regulated verse, possibly because it was the official poetic form tested in the *jinshi* examination.[467] The poet-monks likewise preferred writing five-character regulated verse since the Middle Tang.[468] Guanxiu and Qiji's work collections also show a high portion of five-character regulated verse, about 45% of *Chanyue ji* and 57% of *Bailian ji* are five-character regulated verse.[469] Other than the formal preference, Guanxiu and Qiji's poems also show a similarity of structural style with the works of *kuyin* poets. The

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[467] The Middle and Late Tang *kuyin* poets specialised in five-character verse. Meng Jiao's five-character ancient-style poetry dominated the majority of his works, but only a limited number of poets continued this formal legacy. Five-character regulated verse, however, was the official form in the *jinshi* examination and became the major form of the *kuyin* poets' works throughout the Late Tang and Wudai period. Li Jiankun 李建崑, *Zhongwan Tang kuyin shiren yanjiu* 中晚唐苦吟詩人研究 (A study of the middle and late Tang painstaking recitation poets) (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji, 2005), 23-5.

[468] Liu Yuxi's *Che shangren wenji ji* 澈上人文集紀 (Remark on Lingche's literary work collection) comments that the poetry of Middle Tang poet-monks was like "the single note of the last string [of a zither]", indicating that the poet-monks specialised in writing five-character regulated form but not in other forms. See the relevant discussion, pp. 33-4. Stephen Owen studies and analyses this work of Liu Yuxi and reaches the same conclusion. Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese poetry: the High T'ang*, 282.

[469] According my counting, out of 719 poems in *CYJ* there are 324 five-character regulated poems; and there are 466 out of 810 works in *BLJ* are five-character regulated poems.

kuyin poets were known to craft their couplets carefully, in particular the middle couplets of a regulated poem.[470] However, the *kuyin* poets did not always pay attention to the artistic harmony within the structure of a poem and tended to put one highly crafted couplet amid other less artful lines. Jia Dao's poem *Dongye* 冬夜 (Winter night) is an example:

Winter night	冬夜[471]
I pass through winter again in travels,	羈旅復經冬，
The ladle empty, the pot empty as well.	瓢空盎亦空。
Tears stream upon a cold pillow,	淚流寒枕上，
My tracks are gone in my former hills.	跡絕舊山中。
Ice forms in waters with drifting duckweed,	凌結浮萍水，
Snow blends with the wind in ruined willows.	雪和衰柳風。
The cock does not announce dawn's light,	曙光雞未報，
But a few wild swans are screeching.	嘹唳兩三鴻。

The poet was supposed to stick to the topic of his poem, and here in Jia Dao's case the topic is "winter night" as titled. The first two couplets and ending couplet are about the poet's immediate experience and likely to happen domestically; but the imagery in the third couplet is not something that could easily seen during the night and outside in the coldness. The third couplet is highly crafted in imagery and structure, but other couplets are relatively less embellished.[472] Therefore, the third naturally stands out in the whole poem, but it also disrupts the stylish continuity in the poem. Such artistic disjunction can be seen in Guanxiu and Qiji's poems too. Below is a poem of Guanxiu on his trip to Mt. Kuang (in today's Jiangxi) as an example:

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[470] Li Jiankun 李建崑, *Zhongwan Tang kuyin shiren yanjiu* 中晚唐苦吟詩人研究 (A study of the Middle and Late Tang painstaking recitation poets) (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji, 2005), 26-32.

[471] *QTS*, 9: 6642. Stephen Owen's translation, *LT*, 127-8.

[472] It is termed by Owen the "poetic couplet" of which the imagery is imagined rather than experienced and could have been written at some other occasion and time. Ibid.

Eight poems on the boat trip to Mt. Kuang at the end of autumn (2^{nd} of 8)	秋末入匡山船行八首之二[473]
In the deep reed flowers,	蘆葦深花裏，
A fishing song is sung long.	漁歌一曲長。
Although my mind thinks of the Yue region,[474]	人心雖憶越，
The boat sail seems to float on the Xiang river.	帆態似浮湘。
The stone otter holds white fish in the mouth;	石獺銜魚白，
Cogon grass on the isle is immersed in the yellow waves.	汀茅浸浪黃。
Thousands of *li* are passed unnoticed.	等閑千萬里，
If the Way is here, it does not matter [for such a long trip].	道在亦無妨。

The firstly couplet describes the scenery seen and heard along the river. The second couplet leads away from the immediate perceptions and turns to the poet's inner thoughts. Guanxiu was thinking of his homeland but the boat was approaching his destination. The third couplet returns to the river scenery with carefully crafted visual imagery. The poem ends with the poet's thought again that his long travel would be worthwhile as long as he eventually achieve his goal in the spiritual studies. In this poem, the third couplet in comparison to the other couplets is particularly well crafted. The first and last couplets are written in the run-on lines and naturally being more prosaic than the parallels middle couplets.[475] The second couplet, though grammatically paralleled, is on the poet's thought, and the use of particles such as *sui* 雖 (though) and *si* 似 (be like) loosen the imagery intensity in the couplet and also gives a slight prosaic sense. The third couplet is constructed with all concrete words in parallel creating a high sensory effect. Moreover, the last two characters of each line

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[473] *CYJ*, 269.

[474] Yue 越 was one of the states in the Spring and Autumn period (772-481 BC). Its territory lay in the Wu area from where Guanxiu came.

[475] Kao Yu-Kung and Mei Tsu-Lin, "Syntax, Diction, and Imagery in T'ang Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 31 (1971), 120-33.

are in reverse order, namely one normally writes *bai yu* 白魚 rather than *yu bai* 魚白 (white fish) and *huang lang* 黃浪 rather than *lang huang* 浪黃 (yellow wave).[476] Such arrangement is partially due to the rhyming pattern, but the reversed words would catch the notice of the reader and amplify the artistic effect. However, this crafted couplet, like the cited poem of Jia Dao, disrupts the stylish harmony of the poem. Sometimes the artistic disjunction is so obvious that the crafted couplet is almost out of context in the poem. The poem of Qiji below serves an example:

Answering scholar Chen	答陳秀才[477]
Ten thousand things can be understood;	萬事皆可了，
The study of poetry is most profound.	有詩門最深。
The ancient people rarely fulfilled their ambition;	古人難得志，
You attentively study poetry.	吾子苦留心。
In the countryside the cool clouds layered on one another;	野疊涼雲朵，
The moss is growing thick in the shade of the strange tree.	苔重怪木陰。
If you establish a name some years afterwards,	他年立名字，
You would laugh at me just as an old monk in the Shuanglin temple.[478]	笑我老雙林。

Qiji writes this poem to a scholar Chen and encourages his studies of poetic art. The first, second and final couplets are all on the theme of Qiji's encouragement to the scholar Chen. However, the third couplet is one of nature imagery. It might be a symbol to Qiji's unworldly occupation, but it has little reference to the scholar Chen's poetry writing. The third couplet's disciplined parallel also appears disruptive amid other more loosely composed couplets. It could have been carefully written at another

[476] "Yellow" in the sixth line can be interpreted to describe either the waves or the congon grass immersed in the water. Because this line belongs to a middle couplet in regulated verse, it is preferable that "yellow" describes the waves, for this choice would allow a total linguistic parallel between the fifth and sixth lines.

[477] *BLJ, juan* 4: 85b; *QTS*, 12: 9490.

[478] Shuanglin temple is in today's Zhejiang province.

occasion and only used for this poem out of convenience in the poem. The carelessness of the stylish continuity exemplified here is also typical in the regulated poems of the *kuyin* poets.

In this section I have argued that the poet-monks' external learning generally followed the literati's intellectual interests and studies, which also shaped the writing style of monk *shi* poetry. The poet-monks and the *kuyin* poets were in general from a less prominent background and desired to distinguish themselves through their achievements in poetic art. Guanxiu and Qiji chose to follow the writing style of the secular *kuyin* poets. Their choice of poetic style might be motivated by their association with the *kuyin* poets who shared similar ambitions through poetry writing.

4.2.4. Not a Confucian art entirely

Without a clear religious reference, monk *shi* poetry is hard to distinguish from literati poetry if the identity of the poet is not known, and the work could be judged on account of the form of art, not on the poet's religious identity. Guanxiu's great interest in writing about socio-political issues as political admonishment in the forms of *yuefu* and ancient-styled poetry is one of the strongest characteristics of his poetry.[479] Wu

[479] Guanxiu's poems on socio-political issues are often written in the forms of *yuefu* and ancient-style poetry, for the two forms were often chosen by the Tang poets to express their socio-political criticism. Guanxiu had a significant amount of them in *Chanyue ji*. For instance, Guanxiu had 60 *yuefu* poems, approximately 8.3%, in about 720 poems in *Chanyue ji*. The modern scholar Joseph R. Allen points out in his work *In the Voice of Others* that only second to Li He 李賀, Li Bai wrote the highest percentage of ballads in his poetic works. There are 120 ballads, approximately 12%, in about a thousand poems of Li Bai, and most other major Tang poets did not even write ballads half of that percentage of their whole body of poems. Allen apparently does not count Guanxiu as a major Tang poet, but, according to Allen's observation, the amount of *yuefu* poems is significant in *Chanyue ji*. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, 168-70.

Rong concentrated on writing about this characteristic in the preface to an earlier collect of Guanxiu's poems *Xiyue ji* 西嶽集 (Western sacred mountain collection):[480]

> The principle of composing a poem: appreciating the good deeds, praise it; hating the bad deeds, criticise it. If a poem is not composed based on these two principles, however beautiful it may be, it is like the clay or wooden puppet without breath and blood. What is worth admiring? After the writing of airs (*feng* poetry) and odes (*ya* poetry) diminished, people who wrote five- and seven-character poetry always restrain themselves to the length and punctuating of the lines and the categories of the pairings. Because they have restrains, they cannot fully develop the emotions and narrate the story. Also, the principle of music bureau poetry (*yuefu*) is the same with *shi* poetry, but music bureau poetry (*yuefu*) does not have the regulations of *shi* poetry and enables the poet to write at his will, to use extraordinary phrases, to convey an extraordinary meaning, all for a good purpose. During our dynasty there were many poets writing music bureau poetry (*yuefu*) and *shi* poetry. Li Bai alone is the best, for he had high airs and bones[481] and did not lose the purpose of praise and criticism. Afterwards, Bai Juyi had fifty criticising poems which were extraoridinary works at his times...The poems of monk Guanxiu often excel in reasoning. He is also able to innovate the meaning of the poems, and his words often delineate the scenes and things out of the chaotic nature. However, the purpose of his poems surely follows the Way. Li Bai and Bai Juyi are already passed away. Who else but monk Guanxiu could continue their art?
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> 夫詩之作，善善則頌美之，惡惡則風刺之，苟不能本此二道，雖甚美，猶土木偶不主於氣血，何所尚哉。自風雅之道息，爲五七字詩者，皆率拘以句度屬對焉，既有所拘，則演情敘事不盡矣。且歌與詩其道一也，然詩之所拘悉無之，足以放意，取非常語、非常意，又盡則爲善矣。國朝能爲歌爲詩者不少，獨李太白爲稱首，蓋氣骨高舉，不失頌美風刺之道焉。厥後白樂天諷諫五十篇，亦一時之奇逸……上人之作，多以理勝，復能創新意，其語往往得景物於混茫自然之際，然其旨歸，必合於道，太白、白樂天既歿，可嗣其美者，非上人而誰？[482]

Wu Rong contextualises his evaluation of Guanxiu's poetry in terms of the admonishing tradition and of *yuefu* and gives his high opinion to Guanxiu's achievement in poetry writing. Wu Rong values the admonishing tradition of *shi*

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[480] See information about *Xiyue ji* in footnote 241 and appendix 1 on pp. 282-7.

[481] See footnote 373.

[482] *ZHDD*, 4: 840a.

poetry as the prime principle of poetry writing. He views the elaborating rules of the regulated verse an obstacle to explicit the poet's opinions, but *yuefu* poetry was loose and allowed the poet to fully express himself. Wu Rong praised Li Bai and Bai Juyi as the model *yuefu* poets, and Guanxiu as the rightful heir of the two poets to continue the legacy of admonishment in *yuefu* poetry.

Qiji, on the other hand, might not have written poetry particularly for socio-political purposes, but his poetry was still read as a Confucian art with relevance to socio-politics. *Quan Tang shi* lists the poem *Du Qiji shangren ji* 讀齊己上人集 (Reading monk Qiji's work collection) under two poet-monks Shangyan and monk Qichan 棲蟾 (*fl.c.* 864-c. 943).[483] This poem reads: "Poetry is Confucian meditation; this stylistic standard [of Qiji's poetry] belongs only to the immortal. The style of the words is as ancient and elegant as the Zhou hymns (*song* poetry); it is more clear and harmonious than the string music of the sage king Shun." [詩爲儒者禪，此格的惟仙。古雅如周頌，清和甚舜弦。] The poem describes *shi* poetry as *ruzhe chan* 儒者禪 (Confucian meditation). *Shi* poetry writing is a Confucian canon study, and it demands much meditation to write a good poem. *Ruzhe chan* probably means that Qiji's *shi* poetry writing is meditation practiced through the Confucian canon study. The poem compares Qiji's poetry to *Zhou song* 周頌 (the Zhou hymns) and *Shun xian* 舜弦 (the string music of the sage king Shun), two art forms that often symbolise the good governing of the sage kings. This poem was written by either Shangyan or Qichan. The two poet-monks were both Qiji's friends and wrote poetry together with him. Even though Qiji constantly emphasised that he did not write poetry for a political purpose, his monk friend still read his poetry with regard to socio-political

[483] *QTS,* 12: 9602 and 9609.

purposes, indicating that monk *shi* poetry as a Confucian art stayed relevant to its customary function from the reader's viewpoint.

The content of monk *shi* poetry might have been unreligious, and the poet-monks might have studied it for personal ambition. However, the poet-monks did not disassociate their poetry writing from religion. In Tanyu's afterword of *Chanyue ji*, Tanyu recounted his motivation to write the afterword and defended Guanxiu's poetry writing as a side study for religion. What Tanyu wrote in the afterword is an account of Guanxiu's religious life. A part of the afterword is translated below as an example:

> My late master is called Guanxiu…He was from a family upholding Confucian teachings, and the Confucian customs has passed down for generations. When Guanxiu was young, he turned to the way of enlightenment and asked Yuanzhen the senior monk at the Hean temple to be his master. He recited a thousand characters from *Fahua jing*, and in a few months he finished reciting the sutra. When Guanxiu was still a novice, he and the novice Chumo of the next yard when they were adolescents made a vow to study the sutras. At the free time from their studies, they would recite poetry to each other. When Guanxiu was about fifteen or sixteen *sui*, his poetic fame was getting known near and far. When he was twenty *sui*, he received the full commandments. Later, at the Kaiyuan temple in Hongzhou, he studied *Fahua jing* (*Saddharma-pundarīk-sūtra*). In a few years' time, he sat on the Dharma seat and lectured *Fahua jing*. Afterwards, he also lectured *Dasheng qixin lun* (*Mahāyāna-śraddhotpādaśāstra*). It can be said that he studied broadly over three winters and searched for teachers in hundred of monasteries. He looked for the subtle teaching which had not spread far and lectured with delicate words which were about to vanish. At the time all the scholars of the Jiangbiao region admired him. When Guanxiu was getting old, it was the time when society suffered turbulence. Monk Chumo said to my master, "You have unrestrained talent and knowledge of the Way of Nature. The time is not right for you to use your skills. Would you not feel sad about it?" Then, my late master [Guanxiu] answered, "I have no tear for parting; there is no trace of tears where I gaze to." Afterwards he lived a hermit life in Mt. Heng.
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> 先師名實休……家傳儒素，代繼簪裾，少小之時，便歸覺路，於和安寺請圓貞長老和尚爲師。日念法華經一千字，數月內念畢茲經。先師爲童子時，與鄰院童子法號處默偕年十餘歲，同時發心念經，每於精修之暇，更相唱和。漸至十五、六歲，詩名益著，遠近皆聞。年二十歲受具足戒，後在洪州開元寺，聽法華經，不數年間，

親敷法座，廣演斯文，邇後兼講起信論，可謂三冬涉學，百舍求師，尋妙旨於未傳，起微言於將絕，于時江表士眾無不欽風。年齒漸高，屬天下喪亂時，處默和尚謂師曰：「吾師抱不羈之才，懷自然之道，時不我與，成無傷哉？復爲先師曰：「分裾無血淚，望處空闌幹。」後隱南嶽。

Tanyu's afterword is an interesting contrast to Wu Rong's preface. Wu Rong contextualised Guanxiu's poetry writing in the cononical tradition of *feng* and *ya* poetry as political admonishment. Tanyu contextualises Guanxiu's poetry writing in the framework of Guanxiu's religious life. In Tanyu's account, Guanxiu's poetry writing was a side study of his religious studies. Guanxiu was admired mainly because of his religious achievement, and his poetry was reinforcement to this admiration. Is Tanyu's afterword an honest account about Guanxiu's true intention in poetry writing? Or, did Guanxiu regret showing himself too enthusiastic about politics in his poems and wanted to correct such an image by requesting Tanyu to write an afterword emphasising his religious side? Both speculations are possible. If Tanyu's words are true, Guanxiu's poetry writing added attraction to his religious studies and eventually for spreading the Buddhist teachings. Guanxiu might indulge his literary writing, but his intention was still Buddhist. From this perspective, Guanxiu's unreligious poems were not entirely an art for Confucian purposes but still ultimately for religion.

Although *shi* poetry was a Confucian canon study, the poet-monks' monastic life was a source of material in monk *shi* poetry, and their religious background also offered alternative perspectives from literati poetry. The materials and perspectives particularly of the monks allowed monk *shi* poetry to make a different contribution from the literati poetry to the great poetry tradition. The next section explores the unique perspectives and materials in Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry.

4.3. The Buddhist Perspective in Monk *Shi* Poetry

The Tang and Wudai monk *shi* poetry at large was not particularly religious, and its writing style was similar to literati poetry. It is perceivable that monk *shi* poetry contributed less stylish innovation but instead reinforced the mainstream poetic styles. However, the poet-monks' religious background offered an alternative perspective; their monastic life gave different life experience and spiritual association from those of the literati; and the poet-monks sometimes conceived *shi* poetry from a Buddhist angle and included poetry writing as part of their religious studies. This section analyses the perspectives and materials in Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry that are different from literati poetry.

4.3.1. A different kind of political stand

Both Guanxiu and Qiji had some poems on socio-political issues. Their Buddhist background provided a subtle different political stand in their works from that of literati poetry. The secular scholars viewed themselves responsible for helping the ruler to administrate the state governance. Bai Juyi, for example, initiated *xin yuefu* poetry and wished to revive the admonishing function of *shi* poetry. In the preface of the *xin yuefu* poems, Bai Juyi wrote, "The first line sets the purpose, and at the end reveals the intention—this is the meaning of the three hundred poems in *Shi jing*. The words are simple and straightforward, for I want the reader to understand them easily; the words are direct and sharp, for I hope the listeners would take the warning seriously…To conclude all, these poems are written for the ruler, the officials, the people, the things in the world and the affairs in society, but not written for the sake of literature." [首句標其目，卒章顯其志，詩三百之義也。其詞質而徑，欲見之者易諭也；其言直而切，欲聞之者深誡也……總而言之，爲君、爲臣、爲民、爲

物、爲事而作，不爲文而作。][484] Bai Juyi intended that the reader would take moral lessons from his *xin yuefu* poems, and these poems were for an obvious political hierarchy, the ruler first, then the officials, the people and others. He fathomed the "popular opinion" based on his political opinions and those common to his class.[485] His sympathy for the suffering people was based on the consideration of the state's survival.[486]

Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry on the socio-political issues, however, expressed a general compassion to the disadvantaged and had less loyalty to a certain political power in their sympathy. Two of Guanxiu and Qiji's frontier poems serve as examples below:

No man in the foreign land By Guanxiu	胡無人[487]
Audacious Cavalry Commandant Huo,[488]	霍嫖姚，
Zhao Chongguo,[489]	趙充國，
The emperor ordered them to conquer the countries in the desert.	天子將之平朔漠。

[484] Xiao Zhanpeng 蕭占鵬, *Sui Tang Wudai wenyi lilun huibian ping zhu* 隋唐五代文藝理論匯編評注 (Compiled literary theories of the Sui, Tang and Wudai periods with commentaries and notations), 862-3.

[485] Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, 501.

[486] Stephen Owen uses Bai Juyi's poem *Yanshang fu—e xingren ye* 鹽商婦—惡幸人也 (*Salt merchant's wife—in hatred of profiteers*) to demonstrate that Bai Juyi, being a loyal official, was angry about the loss of potential revenue to the state treasury. Ibid.

[487] *CYJ*, 7.

[488] *Piaoyao* 嫖姚 means being valiant in combat. Huo Qibing 霍去病 (140-117 BC) was an audacious general in the Han dynasty. (206 BC-220 AD) He was appointed Audacious Cavalry Commandant. Afterwards people called him Huo Piaoyao for his valiance in the battles. Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han), 8: 2478.

[489] Zhao Chongguo 趙充國 (137-52 BC) was also a famous Han general. Here Huo Piaoyao and Zhao Chongguo are allusions for the Tang generals who set out to the wars at the frontier. Ibid., 8: 2971.

They ate the flesh of the foreign enemy;	肉胡之肉，
They burned the tents of the foreign enemy.	燼胡帳幄，
Within thousands of li,	千里萬里，
Only empty shells of the foreigners were left.	唯留胡之空殼。
The winds at the frontier blew desolately;	邊風蕭蕭，
The leaves of the elm trees just started falling.	榆葉初落。
The air of killing made the day red;	殺氣晝赤，
The dried bones cried in the night.	枯骨夜哭。
The generals had established their distinguished achievement;	將軍既立殊勳，
Hence there were ballads of "No Man in the Foreign Land."	遂有胡無人曲。
I have heard	我聞之，
That the emperor is rich over the four seas,	天子富有四海，
His virtues are exerted on the endless lands.	德被無垠，
If he just sets everything right,	但令一物得所，
Countries from all places will come and subordinate themselves to him.	八表來賓。
Why should he order to empty the foreign land?	亦何必令彼胡無人？

This expresses Guanxiu's view that the wars against foreign countries are not necessary, for the Tang is wealthier and stronger than other countries. Other countries would subordinate themselves to the Tang willingly if the emperor ruled with virtues. This is a Confucian ideal of government. It is said in *Lunyu* 論語 (*The Analects*), "He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it." [子曰：「爲政以德，譬如北辰，居其所而眾星共之。」][490] Guanxiu stands on high moral ground to judge that virtuous government is more powerful than force. Therefore his poem conveys compassion for all mankind. Guanxiu's patriotism appears extremely lame when one compares it to Li Bai's poem *Hu wu ren*, "[The Han soldiers] step on the intestines and bloods of the foreigners. Hang the foreigners to the sky. Bury the foreigners next to the purple frontier. Foreign land has no man, and the way of Han prospers." [履胡

[490] Liu Baonan 劉寶楠, *Lunyu zhengyi* 論語正義 (Notations of the Analects), 11: 13.

之腸涉胡血。懸胡青天上，埋胡紫塞旁。胡無人，漢道昌。][491] Buddhism is against killing, and the five most basic Buddhist commandments *Pañca veramaṇī* (*wu jie* 五戒) for the lay Buddhists forbids killing.[492] Guanxiu's sympathy for all mankind is based on his Buddhist belief that all life should be equal, and a foreign soldier's life is as precious as a Han soldier's. A similar moral stand for the virtuous governing is also found in Qiji's poem *Bian shang* 邊上 (On the frontier).

On the Frontier By Qiji	邊上[493]
Since the Han armies let their battle horses rest,	漢地從休馬，
The foreign tribes shepherd the sheep.	胡家自牧羊。
They all come and enjoy the ruling of the emperor;	都來銷帝道，
It is not necessary at all to use military force for defence.	渾不用兵防。
The single tower on the grass is white;	草上孤城白，
The sands are blown up and make the great desert yellow.	沙翻大漠黃。
The wild geese fly up from the frontier in the autumn wind;	秋風起邊雁，
Each of them heads for the Xiao and Xiang rivers.	一一向瀟湘。

In this poem, Qiji believes that if the Tang withdraws its force and rules with virtues, the foreigners would make peace, and the frontiers would need no defence by military force. The wild geese from the frontiers can be seen as a symbol of foreign countries. The rivers Xiao 瀟 and Xiang 湘 (in today's Hunan) are the rich area of the Tang. That the wild geese fly from the frontiers towards the rivers Xiao and Xiang symbolises the foreign countries that would come to the Tang and share the wealth of the Tang.

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[491] Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 ed. *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (The collection of music bureau poetry) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 2: 597.

[492] The five commandments are no killing, no stealing, no adultery, no lying and no intoxicating liquors. See *Samyuktāgama* (Ch: *Za ehan jing* 雜阿含經), *T*, 2: 23b.

[493] *BLJ, juan* 5:102b; *QTS*, 12: 9505.

Guanxiu and Qiji's different attitude from that of the literati to the frontier battles expresses the Buddhist values respecting all life.

4.3.2. The monastic life experience as poetry material

A strong community spirit was seldom seen in literati poetry. Literati poems on the occasions of parting were usually emotional, often titled with words like *xibie* 惜別 (parting with regret), *shangbie* 傷別 (parting in sadness) and *kubie* 哭別 (parting with tears).[494] A low sentiment and uncertainty to meet again permeate in such poems. Below is a poem of Du Xunhe serving as an example:

Parting with Attendant Gentleman Jing	別敬侍郎[495]
There are cold and warm times of friendship;	交道有寒暑，
There is no difference for people in the old or current times.	在人無古今。
I talked with you last midnight;	與君中夜話，
I have said all my life's wishes.	盡我一生心。
I have not achieved what I intend to do;	所向未得志，
Do I only know how to recite poetry in vain?	豈惟空解吟？
When should we meet again?	何當重相見，
My old hermit-lodge is deep in the white clouds.	舊隱白雲深。

The opening couplet points out that there is no certainty in friendship. The second couplet shows that the poet nevertheless pours out his heart to his friend. The poet then laments about his failing to achieve his wishes. The poem ends with uncertainty when the two friends would meet again. The poem prevails with a sense of insecurity and sorrow of the parting.

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[494] Happiness at parting is seldom seen in the parting poems, even though encouragement and expectation are often expressed. See the analysis in Liu Jie 劉潔, *Tangshi ticai leilun* 唐詩題材類論 (On the Tang poetic themes), 9-69.

[495] *QTS*, 10: 7939.

The Buddhist monks, on the other hand, lived a community life in the monasteries, and their lifestyle provided material that was exclusively Buddhist to poetry writing. The Buddhist monks, for example, would itinerate to different monasteries to learn the Buddhist teachings. Below is a poem of Qiji on his itinerancy to visit another monastery:

Lodging overnight in Yichun and sending [a poem] to friends in the western Xiang　行次宜春寄湘西諸友[496]

I am lucky to have no fame and money to lead my astray;　幸無名利路相迷，
I travel to the mountains by foot and ascend on the cedar stairs.　雙履尋山上柏梯。
The patriarch who inherited the robe and bowl left them behind at Meiling;[497]　衣鉢祖辭梅嶺外，
I left the Fragrant-Lamp Society behind and for the west to Juzhou.[498]　香燈社別橘洲西。
The stone wall in the clouds looks like the Milky Way mixed with blue colour;　雲中石壁青侵漢，
The green moss patches under the trees surrounds the stream.　樹下苔錢綠遶溪。
I love travelling far, and you love staying settled;　我愛遠遊君愛住，
With this mindset, whom should I make an appointment [to travel] together?　此心他約與誰攜。

This poem is on one of Qiji's itinerancies to visit a certain monastery. Itinerancy was very common for the Tang monks, and *SGZ* records many such itinerancies for

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[496] *BLJ*, *juan* 8: 163a; *QTS*, 12: 9555.

[497] Meiling is a mountain in the Lingnan 嶺南 region (in today's Guangxi and Guangdong). The sixth Chan patriarch was from Lingnan. *LZTJ*, 342a. It is said that Huineng was being chased after he received the Dharma robe from the fifth patriarch. On his way to Lingnan, Huineng took a rest at (Meiling in) Dayu ling 大庾嶺 (Mt. Dayu) and was caught up by one of the chasers. He left the Dharma robe and alms bowl at Meiling to the chaser. Ibid., 338a.

[498] Juzhou 橘洲 was in Changsha 長沙 in the Xiang area (today's Hunan). The poet Li Jianxun 李建勳 (872-c. 952) wrote a poem *Daolin si* 道林寺 (The Daolin Temple) mentioning that he could not join *Xiang deng she* 香燈社 (Fragrant-Lamp Society). *QTS*, 11: 8432. The Fragrant-Lamp society was a society established in the Daolin temple in Changsha. Qiji had resided in this temple for a long time, and he was likely to be its member.

spiritual pursuit. The Buddhist monks would visit renowned masters in other monasteries and learn from them. The first couplet of this poem points out that Qiji looked for sacred mountains, not for fame or money. The second couplet makes a comparison between the leaving of Huineng the sixth Chan patriarch from Meiling and Qiji's leaving from his old monastery. Qiji followed the example of Huineng, leaving his long-resided home to pursue a higher learning. The third couplet depicts the mountain scenery where Qiji was about to visit. Qiji was clear in the ending couplet that he actually enjoyed travelling, though he missed the companionship in the old monastery. This poem describes Qiji's itinerancy for both religious studies and personal pleasure. Such a trip was only done by the Buddhist monks and expressed a distinct Buddhist spirit.

The interconnections between the monasteries enabled the poet-monks to remain hopeful about meeting their friends again after separation. Guanxiu's poem *Song seng you Tiantai* 送僧遊天臺 (Seeing off the monk travelling to Mt. Tiantai)[499] is an example:

Your bag is empty, and your mind is empty too;	囊空心亦空，
You leave the city wall leisurely.	城郭去騰騰。
How should the eyes be eyes?	眼作麼是眼，
Which monk would know this monk?	僧誰識此僧。
You will rest and curl next to the red tree for a long time;	歇隈紅樹久，
You will laugh and see the white clouds scattered.	笑看白雲崩。
I already have an appointment at Mt. Tiantai;	已有天臺約，
At deep autumn I should climb the mountain with you.	深秋必共登。

The first couplet of this poem describes the easy attitude of Guanxiu's monk friend embarking on the trip to Mt. Tiantai. The second couplet evinces a teasing tone

[499] *CYJ*, 179.

making fun of the travelling monk and reveals the close friendship between Guanxiu and his friend. The third couplet depicts the relaxing nature scenery and expresses Guanxiu's good wish to his friend's trip. The poem ends with Guanxiu's promise to visit his friend in autumn. This poem indicates a pleasant fellowship of the monks and a hope of reunion. The Buddhist monks often went on religious itinerancies to visit other monasteries, and parting did not mean a definite separation and chance of meeting again was reasonably high due to itinerancies.

Fulfilling an appointment with friends is a common ending in the parting poems between the Buddhist monks. Because of this sense of community, sorrow is seldom seen in the poet-monks' parting with friends. Instead, they often express happiness of the travel when they see off a friend. Below is a poem of Qiji as example:

Title lost[500]

I often think of the days of my itinerancy;	老憶遊方日，
I walked alone and shook the tin staff at the end of the world.[501]	天涯錫獨搖。
In the morning I set off from Mt. Beigu;	凌晨從北固，
Heading into the snows, I travelled to the territory of the Southern Dynasties.	衝雪向南朝。
I shaved my hair by the spring;	鬢髮泉邊剃，
I burned the fragrant lamp under the tree.	香燈樹下燒。

[500] *BLJ, juan* 1: 32b; *QTS*, 12: 9446. The title of this poem is lost in *BLJ*, but *QTS* has the title corrected as *Song seng* 送僧 (Seeing off a monk). However, all the travel experience mentioned in this poem can be found from other poems of Qiji. The poem *Huai Jinling zhijiu* 懷金陵知舊 (Thinking of the old friend in Jinling) tells that Qiji had been to Mt. Beigu 北固山. Many Qiji's poems describe his stay in the Wu area which was the territory of the Southern Dynasties. From the poem *Ti fa* 剃髮 (Shaving hair) we knew he once shaved by a spring. The poem *Mou juo* 默坐 (Sitting in silence) offers a scene of a burning lamp among the woods. With all ready evidence, it is logical to assume that Qiji was writing his own travel experience in this poem. If this is the case, it is also more logical to assume that it is Qiji who should expect a trip in summer instead of another monk. I therefore argue that the corrected title in *QTS* is incorrect, and the title should remain lost.

[501] See the footnote 390.

Monastic friends from Shuangfeng[502]	雙峯諸道友，
have letters to invite me in the high summertime.	夏滿有書招。

In this poem Qiji recalls his past travel experience.[503] The ending couplet reveals that Qiji's monk friends in Shuangfeng invited Qiji to their monastery. The memory of Qiji's past trips bears a hint of the poet-monk's expectation of a new trip in the near future. The poet-monks' appointments with monk friends from other monasteries not only gives him something to look forward to in the trip, but also indicates that he belongs to a religious community of which travel was part of their duty, not a separation of friends.

Because of this sense of community, sorrow is seldom seen in the poet-monks' parting with friends. Instead, they often express happiness of the travel when they see off a friend. Qiji enjoyed travelling, and his poems on seeing off his friends also express a cheerful sentiment. The poem below is an example.

Seeing someone off to travel to Wuling in the middle of the Xiang region	送人遊武陵湘中[504]
I recite a poem of the pleasure of your trip;	爲子歌行樂，
You are going south-west to Wuling.	西南入武陵。
There is no warrior [and disorder] in the scenery;	風煙無戰士，
There are monks reciting poetry by the guest bed.	賓榻有吟僧。
The mountain ranges surround the military city;	山遶軍城疊，
The layers of the temple tower loom over the river.	江臨寺閣層。
After you have visited all the famous sites,[505]	遍尋幽勝了，
You can travel further along the clean and clear Xiang River on boat.	湘水泛清澄。

[502] Shuangfeng 雙峰 is in today's Hunan province.

[503] See the footnote 499.

[504] *BLJ, juan* 5: 116b; *QTS*, 12: 9517.

[505] *Yousheng* 幽勝 means secluded places of surpassing beauty. It possibly also means Buddhist retreats which often located in the secluded and beautiful places.

The opening couplet points out the destination of the traveller, and Qiji recited the pleasure of travelling to his friend. The middle two couplets describe the peaceful scenery of the middle Xiang region. Qiji ends the poem with a reminder that the traveller should not forget to enjoy the river besides the sightseeing. Even when Qiji was forced to stay in Jingzhou and serve in Gao Jixing's court, his poems on parting still were reasonably happy about the occasion and expressed a strong connection with his fellow monks in the old monasteries. The poem below is on Qiji's seeing off a friend to travel to Mt. Heng.

Seeing someone off to travel to Mt. Heng	送人遊衡嶽[506]
The twelfth month is about to finish in Jingchu;	荊楚臘將殘，
Among the southern rivers, lakes and wilderness,	江湖莽蒼間。
The single boat carries the high-spirited traveller;	孤舟載高興，
It takes a thousand li to reach the famous mountains.	千里向名山。
It cannot be predicted when the snowy waves come;	雪浪來無定，
Leisurely the boat goes with the winds blowing the sail.	風帆去是閑。
If the monk on the stone bridge asks about me,	石橋僧問我，
[Tell him that] he should send mountain tea to me.	應寄嶽茶還。

The opening couplet points out that the friend travelled from Jingzhou to Mt. Heng. The second couplet describes the traveller's high spirit about the trip, and the third couple focuses on the nature scenery along the trip. The focus takes a sudden turn from the traveller to Qiji himself in the last couplet. Once the traveller arrived in Mount Heng, he would be asked about Qiji. He should kindly inform the monk that mountain tea should be sent to the poet-monk. Qiji wrote this poem during his forced stay in Jingzhou,[507] and it was perhaps painful for him to see a friend travelling towards his hometown while he was not allowed to go himself. Qiji does not feel sad

[506] *BLJ, juan* 3: 78b; *QTS*, 12: 9484. Mt. Heng is in today's Hunan province.

[507] The first couplet points out that Qiji sees off his friend from Jingzhou.

about seeing his friend off to the trip, and remind him to ask his old fellow monks to send some tea to relieve the poet-monk's homesickness. Although Qiji could not travel away from Jingzhou, he remained connected to the old monasteries. He was not worried that he should lose the fellowship of the Buddhist community. This strong community spirit evidenced here permeates much of monk *shi* poetry.

Both Guanxiu and Qiji were the followers of the Southern Chan school, and some of their poems to their fellow monks mentioning the Chan studies convey a strong Buddhist spirituality. Below is a poem of Guanxiu on a Chan Buddhist monk:

Writing on the yard of Chan monk Jian	題簡禪師院[508]
When purposeful thought is forgotten, and the room is empty too;	機忘室亦空，
Here is as quiet as Wozhou.	靜與沃洲同。
There is only half a yard of bamboo;	唯有半庭竹，
They could be heard in the winds all day long.	能生竟日風。
When you think about the mountains, the moon rises over the sea;	思山海月上，
When you come out of meditation, the incense is burnt off.	出定印香終。
The heir you will pass on the robe	繼後傳衣者，
Would still have to stand in the snow.	還須立雪中。

This poem has several Chan Buddhist references. Chan Buddhism aimed to teach the practitioner to see one's Buddha nature, break the concept of difference and achieve a clear mental state. The first couplet conveys a state of calmness and emptiness with the imagery of the forgotten idea, empty room and the spatial quietness. On the surface the second couplet describes the scene of the yard, but the word *feng* 風 (wind) has an implication of *zongfeng* 宗風 meaning the teachings of a Chan Buddhist master. Given this implication, the second couplet is a compliment to the Chan monk Jian.

[508] *CYJ*, 153-4.

The third couplet consists of nature imagery and the Chan monk's meditation. The final couplet refers to the story of the second Chan patriarch Huike 慧可 (487-593) of the Chan school who stood in the snow waiting for Bodhidharma (*Putidamo* 菩提達磨) to accept him as a disciple. It is said that Bodhidharma passed his robe to Huike as an heirloom of his teachings.[509] The nature imagery in this poem could be interpreted as the surroundings of the Chan monk's monastery, but it also serves as the customary imagery of enlightenment to express a strong Chan Buddhist experience.

The Chan Buddhist teachings are also seen in Qiji's poems to other monks, for example, the poem *Ji Wenhao Baifa* 寄文浩百法 (Sending [a poem] to Wenhao Baifa)[510] below:

At the time when the sixth patriarch was at Huangmei,	當時六祖在黃梅，
He [the sixth patriarch] alone among the five hundred people opened his eyes.	五百人中眼獨開。
The profound *ji* verse was heard and passed as the ultimate piece;[511]	入室偈聞傳絕唱，
The ascending-hall guest was arrogant and depended on his great talent.	升堂客謾恃多才。
To think that the iron cow is useless becomes the real horn;[512]	鐵牛無用成真角，
If a stone woman can give birth, she would have the womb of holiness.[513]	石女能生是聖胎。

[509] There are variations of accounts how Huike proved himself worthy among Bodhidharma's disciples to receive Bodhidharma's Dharma robe. See a comparison of the variations of Huike's story in Steve Heine, *Zen Skin, Zen Marrow: Will the Real Zen Buddhism Please Stand Up?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 23-5.

[510] *BLJ, juan* 7: 142a.

[511] *Rushi* 入室 (enter the room) symbolises one's profound knowledge of a certain study. *Rushi* is in comparison to *shengtang* 升堂 (ascend the hall) in the next line which symbolises one's good but still lesser knowledge of the study.

[512] Outside of Shanfu 陝府 city in today's Henan province there is a *tieniu* 鐵牛 (iron cow) which has been said to be the guardian of the Yellow River. *Jiao* 角 (horn) symbolises the wrong thoughts which burden the Chan practitioner's spiritual studies.

[513] *Shinü* 石女 (stone woman) means a woman who cannot bear children. In the Chan teachings, *shinü* symbolises someone who can be rid of the human desires and remains of innocent nature. *Shengtai* 聖胎 (holy womb) enfolds and develops the bodhisattva.

I heard that you want to abandon the sutras; 聞說欲拋經論去，
I do not want you to be disappointed and return with empty hands.[514] 莫教惆悵卻空迴。

The first two couplets of this poem recount the story of the sixth patriarch Huineng who received the Chan instruction at Huangmei and demonstrated his enlightenment in a *ji* verse surpassing the *ji* verse of his contender Shenxiu 神秀 (606-706).[515] The third couplet employs the Chan teachings of *tieniu* 鐵牛 (iron cow) and *shinü* 石女 (stone woman). The Chan school used the iron cow as a symbol: the body of the iron cow, like the ultimate Truth, does not move or change; but the guardian's overseeing the Yellow River is the expression of the Truth. To judge the iron cow as a useless figure without recognizing its true power guarding the Yellow River symbolises the wrong conception (*jiao* 角) to the Chan practitioner. The meaning of next line is ambivalent. That a stone woman could have a child is an impossible event. Qiji possibly used the ironic discourse accustomed in the Chan public cases (*gong'an* 公案) to use the impossible event to break an established notion, for example, one has to abandon the sutra learning so as to maintain purity like monk Wenhao Baifa was about to do. Alternatively, the impossible event is a metaphor to Wenhao Baifa's abandoning of sutra learning so as to achieve enlightenment. The ending couplet reveals that Qiji hoped to persuade Wenhao Baifa not to give up the sutra studies. The whole poem focuses on the Chan legacy and teachings and manifests a strong Buddhist spirit.

Buddhist spirituality is also evident in Guanxiu and Qiji's poems to the foreign monks studying Buddhism in China. In these poems the poet-monks treated the

[514] *Konghui* 空迴 (to return with empty hands) is from the accustomed expression *baoshan konghui* 寶山空回 (Return from the treasure mountain with empty hands).

[515] *LZTJ*, 337b-8a.

foreign monks similarly to other Chinese monks, for they were all members of the same spiritual community. Below is Guanxiu's poem to a Silla monk returning to his country.

Seeing off the Silla monk to return to his home country	送新羅僧歸本國[516]
You deny the comforts for your body to pursue the ultimate teaching;	忘身求至教，
After learning it, you return to the east.	求得卻東歸。
The boat has left the shore and sailed towards the sky;[517]	離岸乘空去，
You did not have a place to settle down throughout the year.	終年無所依。
The moon rushes out from the light produced the marine animals;[518]	月衝陰火出，
The sail oppress the flying roc.	帆拶大鵬飛。
It can be assumed that after you return to your hometown,	想得還鄉後，
You are likely to wear the purple clothes[519].	多應著紫衣。

In the poem Guanxiu shows his admiration for the Silla monk's courage and determination to leave for Buddhist studies. The first couplet describes that the Silla left his homeland to pursue the ultimate teachings and is now returning home because he has achieved his goal. The monk had to endure the constant travels without a place to settle. The third couplet depicts the scenery of the boat trip. The poem concludes that the monk's hard work would be officially recognised by the honourary purple robe. Qiji similarly wrote about the foreign monks' coming to China to study Buddhism in the poem *Song Gaoli er seng nanyou* 送高麗二僧南遊 (Seeing two

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[516] *CYJ*, 304. Silla (Xinluo 新羅, 57 BC- 935 AD) was in today's Korea.

[517] When the ship is far away at horizon, it looks as if it were hanging in the air.

[518] *Yinhuo* 陰火 is the light produced by the marine animals.

[519] *Ziyi* 紫衣 (purple clothes) was the clothes bestowed to the monk officials to distinguish their status. Wu Zetian 武則天 (634-705) started giving the purple formal clothes to monks. This custom was popular in the Late Tang. Ji Guangyu 吉廣輿, "*Song chu jiu seng shi yanjiu* 宋初九僧詩研究 (A study of nine monks poetry of the early Song)" (PhD thesis, National Kaohsiung Normal University 2001), 70.

Koryi monks off to travel to the South):[520]

You have left your hometown in the east for years;	日邊鄉井別年深，
You want to visit every Buddhist temple in China.[521]	中國靈蹤欲遍尋。
In which famous mountain will you meet a distinguished monk	何處名山逢長老，
Of whom you can tell and learn the mind of the patriarch ? [522]	分明認取祖師心？

The opening of this poem depicts that the two Koryo monks had left their home for years to study Buddhism in China. Their seriousness for their studies shows in their effort to visit every Buddhist temple. The interrogative second couplet expresses Qiji's wish that the Koryo monks would find enlightenment in their trip. In Buddhist faith the foreign and Chinese monks were all fellow companions pursuing the same spirituality.

In general Guanxiu and Qiji's poems to their fellow monks, unlike those to non-Buddhists, naturally mention their monastic life and religious studies in comparison to their poems to the non-Buddhists. The itinerancies and religious studies are often presented with the monks' enduring effort in search for the Truth. These themes express a strong Buddhist spirituality and show the differences between the poet-monks and the literati.

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[520] *BLJ, juan* 10: 212; *QTS*, 12: 9595. The country Koryo (Gaoli 高麗, 918-1392) was in today's Korea.

[521] *Lingzong* 靈蹤 can mean the respectful appearance of Buddha or the travel route of monks. As Buddha was long passed away when the poem was written, it should mean the place where there is painting or statue of Buddha, essentially meaning the Buddhist temples.

[522] *Zhushi* 祖師 (patriarch) means the founder of a school of teachings. Bodhidharma was generally recognised as the founder of the Chan school in China. The Chan school emphasized on passing the mental seal of Buddha-Truth from the master to the disciple, and this transmission was independent from the sutra studies.

4.3.3. A leisurely monastic life in contrast to the literati's frustration

A central theme of the *kuyin* poems conveys the poets' enthusiasm about poetry writing. However, the secular *kuyin* poets might not have perceived their long composition of poetry as a pleasant experience. The poem of Du Xunhe below serves as an example:

Painstaking recitation on an autumn evening	秋夜苦吟[523]
I recite poetry till the third beat at night and have not put down the title;	吟盡三更未著題，
The winds through the bamboos,	竹風松雨共淒淒。
rains on the pine trees share my bitterness.	
If anyone comes to listen to me,	此時若有人來聽，
He would start thinking that the apes of the Ba gorge do not know how to wail.	始覺巴猿不解啼。

The opening line clearly indicates that the poet works hard throughout the night to compose a poem, and even giving a title is of careful consideration. The second line depicts the miserable weather which reflects the poet's bitter feelings from his hard work. The poet's misery is further expressed in the second couplet which claims the poet's bitterness of hardworking exceeds the crying of the apes at the Ba gorge.

Besides the miserable feelings relating to their enduring poetry composition, the *kuyin* poets' relative but general poverty also deepened their dark mood. Pei Yue wrote a poem about a winter he passed in a poor material condition:

Composition on a winter day	冬日作[524]
With coarse food and holding a broken cotton cover,	糲食擁敗絮，
I painstakingly recite poetry to pass the winter.	苦吟吟過冬。

[523] *QTS*, 10: 7983.

[524] *QTS*, 11: 8264.

It is getting cold, but I am still healthy;	稍寒人卻健，
Feeling too full, I might feel lazy about working.	太飽事多慵。
The old woods burn with thin smoke;	樹老生煙薄，
The shady wall stores heavy snow.	牆陰貯雪重。
How can I be just like this?	安能只如此？
I will receive justice to prosper in the future.	公道會相容。

The poet does not have much to keep himself during the winter, but he still studies poetry hard. The second couplet is a self-comforting statement with a tone of irony. In the lifestyle compelled by the limited resources, the poet thinks it lucky to be healthy in the cold days, and the moderate amount of food keeps him energetic. The third couplet continues to depict the shortage of comfort. The thin smoke indicates the weakness of the fire produced by burning old woods, which is put in contrast to the layered snow next to the wall. The contrast naturally brings out overwhelming winter coldness in the couplet without mentioning a word of cold. The final couplet, however, reveals the poet's true feelings about his present living condition. He hopes the present humble condition will be rewarded with future prosperity. Pei Yue's poetry writing is not only out of personal pleasure but also out of a necessity to escape poverty. The historical resources do not provide much information how the literati kept their living before they succeeded in obtaining an official post. However, even a poet on a low official position would complain that the stipend being too poor. Yao He, when serving at Wugong 武功 county (in today's Shaanxi), still thought himself a man of poverty. In the third of the thirty poems *Wugong xian zhong zuo* 武功縣中作 (Compositions in the Wugong county) Yao He wrote, "A low-positioned official is like a horse foot; he only stays in the mud. Wherever I go, poverty follows me; throughout the year I feel my age catching up with me." [微官如馬足，祗是在泥塵。到處貧隨我，終年老趁人。][525]

[525] *QTS*, 8: 5655.

Other than financial hardship, the educated literati did not always fit with the people around them. Below is a poem of Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814) who bitterly complained of his retired life:

Retired life	退居[526]
What do I eat in retirement?	退身何所食，
I cannot live leisurely with my wretched strength.	敗力不能閑。
I grow rice and work in the white water;	種稻耕白水，
I carry firewood and cut the woods in the green mountains.	負薪斫青山。
The crowds like to listen to the folksongs of the Ba people;	眾聽喜巴唱，
I am awake alone, and have a sad Chu face.	獨醒愁楚顏。
When it is sunset and time to return home quietly,	日暮靜歸時，
I knock softly on the pinewood door.	幽幽扣松關。

In this poem Meng Jiao appears tired of his retired life. He had to work hard to keep a basic living. The third couplet indicates that the poet lived among ordinary people who enjoyed vulgar entertainment, and he could not fit in. The folksong *Xiali ba ren* 下里巴人 (Ba people of Xiali) was traditionally conceived as vulgar in contrast to the elegant music of *Yangchun baixue* 陽春白雪 (White snow at the warm spring) which only the intellectual would know.[527] *Du xing* 獨醒 (being awake alone) derives from *Chu ci* 楚辭 (*Chu verse*) that a fisherman met the wretched poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (BC 340-278) and inquired about his exile. Qu Yuan replied, "While the whole world is dirty, I alone am clean; while everyone is drunk, I alone is awake. Therefore I am sentenced to exile." [舉世皆濁我獨清，眾人皆醉我獨醒，是以見放。] In Meng

[526] *QTS*, 6: 4190-1.

[527] For instance, Zhang Xie 張協 (d. 307) wrote in *Za shi* 雜詩 (Miscellaneous poems) (5th of 10), "No one sing along with the song *Yangchun baixue*; all the people beat the rhythm of *Xiali ba ren*." [《陽春》無和者，《巴人》皆下節。] *XQHWNBCS*, 1: 746.

Jiao's couplet, the crowds enjoy listening to the folksong, but the poet, symbolised through Qu Yuan's poetic term, feels isolated in his exile among the ordinary people. The quiet and soft knocking in the last couplet are not signs of relaxation but of a person's strength utterly spent in the struggles to make the ends meet. Meng Jiao might in reality not be as poor as his poem described, but his poem nevertheless depicted a grim picture of a frustrated literati living among the people with which he could not fit in.

Financial hardship was rarely seen in monk *shi* poetry because the financially provided monastic life guarded the poet-monks from the basic struggles to make ends meet. Likewise, the hard working to keep a basic living, exhaustion from daily hardship and feeling isolated among the people were seldom seen in monk *shi* poetry. The poet-monks often described their life as one of leisure, purity and quiet, unscratched by the daily worries of the secular world. Two poem of Guanxiu are analysed as examples:

Composition on living leisurely	閑居作[528]
Light snows fall on the fence and door;	閑門微雪下，
I have fulfilled my plan to be lazy today.	慵惰計全成。
I sit in silence for the whole day;	默坐便終日，
On the solitary peak only here one has a clear view.	孤峰祗此清。
My body and mind are at ease, and I have few dreams;	身心閑少夢，
The fir trees and bamboos are cold and constantly make sounds.	杉竹冷多聲。
Only the old man living on the west peak,	唯有西峰叟，
Whenever we meet, he looks at me with the sharpest eyes.	相逢眼最明。

In this poem Guanxiu describes a life of much leisure: he is lazy, with much time to

[528] *CYJ*, 262.

meditate, and even dreams little. Guanxiu does not mention how he could support this lazy living because the monasteries provide the basic needs for the monks, so they could concentrate on the spiritual pursuit. Monk *shi* poetry in general may not see much diversity and extremes of lifestyle, but there is often a sustaining peace and leisure about their monastic living.

In a privileged provided for monastic life, the poet-monks studied poetry more for their own pleasure, and their writing experience is relatively pleasant and calm in contrast to the depressing atmosphere in the *kuyin* poets' works. Below is a poem of Guanxiu sitting on an autumn evening and reciting poetry:

Evening sitting in early autumn	早秋夜坐[529]
In subtle chill the town is full of the sounds of the beatings [of the silk threads] on the broad;	微涼砧滿城，
The stone bed is flat beneath the woods.	林下石床平。
How can my hair turn white for no reason?	髮豈無端白，
My poetry should be unworldly pure.	詩須出世清。
The monk next door blends into the tree shade;	鄰僧同樹影，
The moonlight on the stairs is soaked with cricket sounds.	砌月浸蛩聲。
I alone sit further into the night;	獨自更深坐，
No one knows about my feelings.	無人知此情。

There is not much action in the poem except for the seasonal beatings of weaving thread in autumn time when people prepared to make winter clothes. Surrounded by nature, the poet-monk sits under the trees to meditate and writes poetry. The poet-monk's hair has turned white for the hard work of reciting poetry, but he continues to work alone in the woods. There may be some mention of the hard work of poetry writing, but personal bitterness is not emphasised in their writing. Qiji's poetry

[529] *CYJ*, 373.

writing experience is often related to his meditation during the night. The poem of Qiji below serves as an example:

Evening sitting	夜坐[530]
I sit amid the sounds of hundreds of insects;	百蟲聲裡坐，
The colour of the evening is dark.	夜色共冥冥。
I think of the peaks afar	遠憶諸峰頂，
Where I had nurtured my spirituality.	曾棲此性靈。
There is an image in the bright moonlight;	月華澄有象，
Poetry inspiration does not have a shape.	詩思在無形。
I forget to go to bed until dawn;	徹曙都忘寢，
Through the empty window the sun shines on my sutras.	虛窗日照經。

The content of this poem in general is very similar to Guanxiu's poem *Zao qiu ye zuo* 早秋夜坐 (Evening sitting at early autumn). The poet-monk sits in nature to meditate and recite poetry throughout the night. Qiji's poetry recitation is being done in a calm meditative mood surrounded by pleasant nature. The differences between the poet-monks and the *kuyin* poets are obvious in the atmosphere and personal emotion expressed in the quoted poems. The literati poets' depressing environment forms a contrast to the tranquillity of Guanxiu and Qiji's surroundings. The *kuyin* poets' poems accentuate the bitterness and hardship of poetry writing; they experienced strong emotional struggles from an expectation to be appreciated, an ambition to succeed in being admitted to officialdom. Guanxiu and Qiji, however, study poetry for self-cultivation. Guanxiu aims to express the quality of *chushi qing* 出世清 (unworldly pure) in his poetry. Qiji thinks of places where he studied for spirituality when he writes poetry.

[530] *BLJ, juan* 1: 17a; *QTS*, 12: 9442.

The next poem of Guanxiu depicts his stay at a farmer's house:

On a spring evening writing on the wall of a mountain household (2^{nd} of 2)	春晚書山家屋壁二首之二[531]
The tree is fragrant, and the pond is black, and the waterweeds are thick;[532]	[木養]香塘黑蒲森森，
The mandarin ducks and river ducks are like house fowls.	鴛鴦鸂鶒如家禽。
The mulberry trees grow dense at the front hill and the boundaries at the back farm field;	前崗後壟桑柘深，
The east and west neighbours do not disturb each other;	東鄰西舍無相侵。
The woman tending the silkworms washes the cocoons in the clear river at front of the village;	蠶娘洗繭前溪涨，
The child herder plays the flute and bathes himself with the cow.	牧童吹笛和牛浴。
The mountain old man asks me to stay again and again;	山翁留我宿又宿，
He points at the ripened melons and beans on the western slope with a smile.	笑指西坡瓜豆熟。

The first three couplets present pleasant and peaceful scenes of the village where Guanxiu stays. The last couplet reveals that Guanxiu stayed at an old farmer's place, and the farmer warmly receives Guanxiu for several days. There is no emotional expression of the poet-monk in this poem, but all the scenes and acts appear pleasant and lively. It is not hard to imagine that the poet enjoys his stay in the village and has no negative feelings toward the village farmers. The Buddhist monasteries were usually open to people of all social classes and, as mentioned previously, served as charity and education centres. The monks usually had direct contact with the peasants and received donations from them. It is not surprise that the poet-monks had little difficulty associating with various types of people.

Although the poet-monks and the secular *kuyin* poets were devoted to poetic art,

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[531] *CYJ*, 39.

[532] This character [木養] does not exist in the modern Chinese dictionaries. According to Lu Yongfeng, this character possibly means a certain type of tree.

their respective lifestyles convey different tones about their poetry writing. Literati often suffered frustration and poverty when they endured the long poetic composition. They studied poetic art in hope to escape the misery they bore. The poet-monk, on the other hand, lived a provided for monastic life. Material shortage rarely appears in monk *shi* poetry. Their poetry permeates a sense of leisure and tranquillity, and their poetry writing was often linked to spiritual pursuit.

4.3.4. The 'clarity' and 'cool' aesthetic qualities in Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry

Some aesthetic qualities frequently appear in the *kuyin* poets and the poet-monks' poems. *Jiao han, Dao shou* 郊寒島瘦 (Jiao cold, Dao lean) is a catchphrase referring to the general aesthetic impression presented in Meng Jiao and Jia Dao's poems. As Meng Jiao and Jia Dao's poems were taken as a model for the *kuyin* poets, the aesthetic qualities of 'cold' and 'lean' also frequently appeared in the poems of the *kuyin* poets. In the case of monk *shi* poetry, the quality 'cold' was significant.[533] It is often associated with poverty, weather and evening temperature which the *kuyin* poets endured when writing their poems. For instance, the coldness in Pei Yue's poem *Dong ri zuo* 冬日作 (Composition on a winter day) previously analysed (see thesis pp. 228-9) was related to the poets' poverty and long recitation during the night. However, the poet-monks' monastic background and their tendency to emphasise the common characteristics between Buddhist and non-Buddhist studies also offer a spiritual angle to interpret the quality 'cold' in monk *shi* poetry.

'Cold' in monk *shi* poetry is often associated with *qing* 清 (clear), a quality of

[533] Wang Tzi-Chang 王次澄, "Meng Jiao, Jiao Dao 孟郊、賈島 (Meng Jiao and Jia Dao)," in *Zhongguo wenxue jianghua* 中國文學講話六: 隋唐文學 (Talks on Chinese literature Volume 6: Sui and Tang literature), ed. Wang Gengsheng 王更生, 226-46 (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1988).

clarity, purity and refreshing. The two qualities were delivered through nature imagery in monk *shi* poetry. The modern scholar Jiang Liyu 蔣力余 uses the word *qing* 清 to account for the general aesthetic impression of Qiji's poetry. He quotes several couplets of Qiji's poems to demonstrate the "*qing*" quality, for example, "Wild water turns the red lotus roots; emerald river, old white fowls." [野水翻紅藕，滄江老白禽。][534] Or, "I stand at night by the grand silver pond; autumn lingers in the chilling jade dews." [晚立銀塘闊，秋棲玉露寒。][535] Nature imagery is the centre of the these couplets, and the words—*shui* 水 (water), *ou* 藕 (lotus root), *cang* 滄 (emerald), *jiang* 江 (river), *wang* 晚 (night), *yin* 銀 (silver), *tang* 塘 (pond), *yu* 玉 (jade), *lu* 露 (dew) and *han* 寒 (cold)—all convey a sense of natural coolness. Similarly, those of the water-related characters also bear the quality of clarity.

The poet-monks regarded the qualities 'cold' and 'clear' as the aesthetic characteristics they aimed to achieve in their poetry. Several couplets of the quoted poems of Guanxiu already show 'cold' and 'clear' as his ideal aesthetic characteristics in poetry. For example, "The coldness of my lines can be compared to the firs and pines; the heaviness of the frost can be heard from the drum and horn." [句冷杉松與，霜嚴鼓角知。][536] Or, "How can the hairs turn white for no reason? My poetry should be unworldly pure (clear)." [髮豈無端白，詩須出世清。][537] Qiji also aimed to convey the quality 'clear' in poetry. For instance, Qiji wrote, "Painstakingly [recite] the five- and seven-character lines; they remains pure (clear) in style after hundreds or

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[534] *Ji Li Dong xiucai* 寄李洞秀才 (Sending [a poem] to the Cultivate Talent Li Dong), *BLJ*, *juan* 3: 73b; *QTS*, 12: 9480.

[535] The first of *Lusi er shou* 鷺鷥二首 (Two poems on the egrets), *BLJ*, *juan* 3: 207a; *QTS*, 12: 9480.

[536] *Ou zuo* 偶作 (Occasional composition), see pp. 153-4.

[537] *Zao qiu ye zuo* 早秋夜坐 (Evening sitting at early autumn), see p. 232.

thousands of years." [五七字中苦，百千年後清。][538]

'Cold' and 'clear' were the representative characteristics of the nature surroundings of the Buddhist monasteries which were often located in the mountains. We recall the literati's particular appreciation of nature imagery in monk *shi* poetry, for it symbolised the poet-monks' unworldly lifestyle away from the secular society. Guanxiu wrote about his early years in the mountain monastery in following the poem:

Twelve poems on living leisurely at Tongjiang (11th of 12)	桐江閒居作十二首 之十一[539]
I remember the days in the mountains;	憶在山中日，
I served the monastic duties, and the hair on my temples was about to turn grey.	爲僧鬢欲衰。
A lamp was often lit until the dawn;	一燈常到曉，
I did not leave the master for ten years.	十載不離師。
The water was drawn from the icy and slippery brook;	水汲冰溪滑，
The bell was struck in the high tower covered by snow.	鐘撞雪閣危。
I have constantly examined myself;	從來多自省，
If I do not learn, what else could I do?	不學擬何爲。

The first two couplets describe Guanxiu's life and study in the mountains. The third couplet focuses on the images of the surroundings of the monastery, and Guanxiu presents wintry scenes. The couplet consists of ten characters, and six characters out of ten are related to water materials in the two lines—*shui* 水 (water), *ji* 汲 (to scoop water), *bing* 冰 (ice), *xi* 溪 (brook), *hua* 滑 (slippery) and *xue* 雪 (snow), and these words all convey the water-related qualities of clarity and coldness. The final couplet

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[538] *Feng shiseng* 逢詩僧 (Encountering a poet-monk), *BLJ, juan* 5: 104a; *QTS*, 12: 9506.

[539] *CYJ*, 209. According to Shi Mingfu, this poem is about Guanxiu's early years in the mountains when the state persecution against Buddhism occurred during the Huichang period (841-846). Shi Mingfu 釋明復, "*Guanxiu chanshi shengping de tantao* 貫休禪師生平的探討 (A study of the life of the Chan monk Guanxiu)," 54-5.

continues the theme in the first two couplets and concludes at the poet's reflection on his diligent studies. Guanxiu chooses to contextualise his monastic life with wintry imagery, for the winter harshness could easily highlight the poet-monk's forbearing spiritual pursuit in the monastery.

Besides a reference to the natured surroundings of the monasteries, the 'cold' of the monastic life symbolises the state of the monks' spirituality. The poet-monks usually preferred to relate the monastic life to a cool atmosphere in contrast to the "hot" secular life. Qiji's poem *Xiari Qixia Si shu huaiji Zhang yiren* 夏日棲霞寺書懷寄張逸人 (Writing about my thought in the Qixia temple in the summertime and sending it to the hermit Zhang), for example, says, "The world of Jianye is hot; The white stone of the Qixia temple is cool." [建業紅塵熱，棲霞白石涼。][540] The Qixia 棲霞 temple was in Jianye 建業, the capital of the Southern Dynasties, today's Nanjing. Being in the same location, the Qixia temple might not be really cooler than Jianye city, but Qiji still deliberately shows a sharp "temperature" contrast inside and outside the Qixia temple. The "cool" of the monastery symbolises the monks' pursuit of a calm mind unstirred by the busy rustling of secular life.

However, the 'cold' and 'clear' qualities present not only various aspects of the poet-monks' spiritual cultivation but also their poetry writing. We recall the constant pairing of poetry and *dao* (the Way) in Guanxiu and Qiji's poems. The congenial relationship of the pair was emphasized by comparing poetry and the Way both to objects sharing similar qualities—snow, infant, water and ice. These objects all convey a sense of purity which is often compatible to the qualities 'cold' and 'clear'.

[540] *BLJ, juan* 2: 47a; *QTS*, 12: 9459.

While 'cold' often symbolises material poverty in the *kuyin* poets' works, 'cold' together with 'clear' associate with the poet-monks' religious life and accentuate a spiritual richness in monk *shi* poetry.

When the poet-monks' monastic life, spiritual cultivation and poetry writing were frequently described with 'cold' and 'clear' qualities, it evoked a general impression that the poet-monks' poetry writing were united with their spiritual pursuit. This impression allowed many literati to separate monk *shi* poetry from literati poetry.[541] Many monk *shi* poems did express the poet-monks spiritual cultivation, but expressing the religious spirituality was not the only purpose of that poetry. However, Cai Tao's observation was still a valuable one. Spiritual expression might be only one of the characteristics of monk *shi* poetry, but it was much appreciated by non-Buddhists, for the Buddhist monks' spiritual life was a virtue which the secular scholars lacked. The qualities 'cold' and 'clear' were seen across monk and literati poetry, but the association with the monks' spiritual life could transform a quality related to poverty into a quality bearing spiritual richness. Monk *shi* poetry, in the eyes of Cai Tao, was able to be different from literati poetry because the poet-monks served an unworldly career. However, one should not overlook the fact that monk *shi* poetry at large was not distinguishable from literati poetry if the religious identity of poets was not known. The differences between monk *shi* poetry and literati poetry are more limited when compared with the similarities that monk *shi* poetry shared with literati poetry.

[541] For instance, see the quote of the Song scholar-official Cai Tao, p. 162.

4.3.5. A Buddhist conception of *shi* poetry

Unlike the literati, the poet-monks studied *shi* poetry not entirely within the context of the Confucian teachings, and they offered an alternative conception of poetry from their Buddhist angle. For instance, Qiji listed *shi shi* 十勢 (ten forces)[542] in *Feng sao zhi ge* 風騷旨格 (The principles of poetry), and each listing had a couplet as an example.[543] The first listing of *shi shi* "*shizi fan zhi shi* 獅子返擲勢 (lit. Lion jumps back force)" was supported by the couplet "The emotion at the parting spreads to the fragrant grass; everywhere it is growing thick." [離情遍芳草，無處不萋萋。] How this couplet could explain "lion jumps back force" is obscure. The modern scholar Zhang Bowei 張伯偉 argues that the term "*shizi fan zhi* 獅子返擲 (lion jumps back)" came from the Chan *huatou* 話頭 (Chan discourse) and gives an example from the Song Chan master Dayang Jingxuan 大陽警玄 (948-1027):[544]

> Someone said, "What does 'lion frowns and groans' mean?" Master [Dayang Jingxuan] said, "I have no intention to look back; how can I endure to be ordinary?" Someone said, "What does 'lion jumps back' mean?" Master said, "All repeated coming and going belong to the Father; elaborate the great functions lavishingly, but the substance is not flawed." Someone said, "What does 'lion squats on the ground' mean?" Master said, "I purposely refuse the repetitive desires; there is no change in the ancient and modern times."
>
> 曰：「如何是師子嚬呻？」師曰：「終無回顧意，爭肯落平常？」曰：「如何是師子返擲？」師曰：「周旋往返全歸父，繁興大用體無虧」曰：「如何是師子踞地？」師曰：「迥絕去來機，古今無變異。」[545]

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[542] *Shi* 勢 as a term in literary criticism has several meanings. The modern scholar Zhang Bowei 張伯偉 analyses the meaning of this term in the *shige* 詩格 (poetry regulations) works and argues that *shi* means the aesthetic vitality expressed through the structure of a couplet. Therefore, the aesthetic "force" or "dynamic" is the most appropriate meaning applied to this term in the *shige* works. Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, *Quan Tang Wudai shige hui kao*, 23-33.

[543] Ibid., 397-416.

[544] Ibid, 28-9. The explication of the "lion jumps back force" is based on Zhang Bowei's analysis.

[545] Puji 普濟, *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Genealogy of the five lamps), 329b.

In the quoted conversation Dayang Jingxuan explains the three spiritual levels of meditation with three couplets. "*Shizi fan zhi shi*" is the second of the three spiritual levels, and the example couplet generally means: the Chan practitioner's various forms of practice aim to find the original source (symbolically in the couplet, *fu* 父, the Father) of enlightenment; the substance (*ti* 體) represents the ultimate reality that remains unflawed when all the great functions (*yong* 用) are in actions to manifest reality.[546] Viewing *shizi fan zhi shi* from the Chan angle, Qiji's example for "lion back jumps force" in *Feng sao zhi ge* becomes comprehensible. *Liqing* 離情 (the emotion at parting) is the *ti* 體, a formless and thoughtless reality. In Chinese poetry, the scene (*jing* 景) is often used as an expression of the emotion (*qing* 情).[547] Fragrant grass (*fangcao* 芳草) is the *yong* 用, an expression revealing *liqing* the emotion at parting. The fragrant grass growing thickly everywhere symbolises the poet's emotion at parting being vivacious. From the Buddhist concepts of *ti* and *yong*, the example couplet could appropriately explain the "lion jumps back force." This example indicates that Qiji employed Buddhist concepts to comprehend poetic art and did not study *shi* poetry entirely from a Confucian perspective.

A Buddhist conception of *shi* poetry was seen in the Tang poet-monks' works and was accepted and further elaborated by the secular scholars during the Song period. Chapter Two discussed that *shi* poetry writing could be conceived by the poet-monks as a tool to demonstrate their religious spirituality. The poet-monk Jiaoran's

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[546] *Ti* 體 (substance) is the substance which reveals reality, and it can be formless and thoughtless; *yong* 用 (function) is the action manifesting the absolute reality. Chang Chung-Yuan, *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism: Selected from The Transmission of the Lamp*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), 185-99.

[547] Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, 40-1.

poems show that he wrote poetry as a spiritual demonstration of his understanding of the Chan teachings, and his poem *Chou Cui shiyu jian zeng* 酬崔侍御見贈 (A reply to the poem Attendant Censor Cui has given to me) also clearly addresses that he viewed even ordinary conduct as expressions of Buddha nature. Jiaoran confirms again this view in the poem *Hua shi changzheng ge da Zhang jushi zeng* 花石長枕歌答章居士贈 (A song of a long patterned stone pillow as a reply to lay Buddhist Zhang who gave me the pillow), "There are clouds in the Southern Mountains and swans in the sky; the winds breathe through the tall pines and cool down for me. My esteemed friend sings loudly and enjoys it; walking, standing, sitting and lying down the four living acts all carry the meaning of the Way; do not learn from the ignorant Hīnayāna scholars and sing only one song." [南山有雲鵠在空，長松爲我生涼風。高友朗詠樂其中，行住四儀皆道意，不學小乘一曲士。][548] In this poem Jiaoran reminds his Buddhist friend Zhang of the Chan teachings that all conduct express one's pure Buddha nature. The poet-monk urges his friend not to blindly observe the Buddhist codes and accepts that singing can be also a form to demonstrate his Buddha nature. When the Buddhist Zhang's singing can be a spiritual demonstration from the Chan view, Jiaoran's own poetry writing is likewise a realisation of the Chan teachings. The religiousness of Jiaoran's poetry writing, therefore, lies in the conception of the act, not in the content of the poem.

It is rarely seen in the Tang sources that the secular scholars accepted the conception that the poet-monks' *shi* poetry writing could be a spiritual demonstration, and very few poet-monks explicitly claimed to write *shi* poetry as a realisation of the Chan teachings. However, writing *shi* poetry as a spiritual act was accepted by some

[548] *QTS*, 12: 9263.

Song literati. The Song poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) expressed his understanding of the monk Sicong's poetry writing as a means for spiritual cultivation in the work *Cong shangren shiji xu* 聰上人詩集敘 (*Preface to monk Sicong's poetry collection*):

> The Ch'ien-t'ang [Qiantang] monk Ssu-ts'ung [Sicong] at the age of seven played the lute well. At twelve he gave up the lute and studied calligraphy. After he became skilled in calligraphy, in ten years he gave it up and studied poetry; in his poems there are extraordinary passages...I have heard that when one's thoughts are trained so they are reaching close to the Tao, the *Hua-yen Sutra* [*Avatamsaka-sūtra*], the Realm of Reality, and the Sea of Wisdom are only way-stations; and this is even more true of calligraphy, poetry, and the lute. No matter how hard he tries, no student of the Tao achieves it if he starts from nothing...If Ts'ung [Sicong] does achieve it, his lute playing and calligraphy and above all his poetry, will have had something to do with it. Like water, Cong will be able to reflect all things in one, and his calligraphy and poetry will become still more extraordinary. I will keep watch on them, and take them as indications of how profoundly Ts'ung [Sicong] achieves the Dao (the Way).[549]
>
> 錢塘僧思聰，七歲善彈琴，十二歲捨琴而學書，書既工，十五捨書而學詩，詩有奇語……自聞思修以至於道，則華嚴法海自爲蘧廬，而況詩書與琴乎。雖然古之學道，無自虛空……聰若得道，琴與書皆與有力，詩其尤也。聰能如水鏡，以一含萬，則書與詩當益奇。吾將觀焉，以爲聰得到深淺之候。[550]

Su Shi conceived that monk Sicong' studies of poetry and other forms of art are all acts demonstrating his Buddhist spirituality, and poetry in particular is helpful for monk Sicong to cultivate his spirituality. Su Shi's regard of the connection between Buddhist spirituality and poetry might be restrained to monk *shi* poetry instead of applying to all *shi* poetry. Nevertheless, Su Shi accepted that *shi* poetry was no longer just a study of Confucian canon scholarship, and the poet-monks had extended its

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[549] Andrew March's translation quoted in Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*, 205-6. Faure views this passage as an example that Su Shi considered that monk wrote poetry as a means to achieve spiritual enlightenment.

[550] Su Shi 蘇軾, *Jing jin Dongpo wenji shi lüe* 經進東坡文集事略 (Short version of presented Dongpo prose collection), in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Publications according to the four sections), ed. Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館, 961-63, *juan* 56: 8b-10a (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 1967).

expression to spiritual demonstration.

The analogy between poetry and the (Buddhist) Way or Chan was one more influential Buddhist conception of *shi* poetry. The similarities of the Buddhist and poetic studies were firstly and constantly addressed in monk *shi* poetry. The analogy of poetry and the Way or Chan were accepted by some Song literati and further developed in the Song *shihua* works. Learning meditation, for example, became a figure to learning how to write poetry. The Song scholar Wu Ke 吳可 (d. u) wrote in the poem *Xue shi shi* 學詩詩 (Poem on learning poetry writing), "Learning poetry writing is like learning meditation; one does not remember all those years sitting on the bamboo bed and cattail hassock." [學詩渾似學參禪，竹榻蒲團不記年。][551] The Southern Song literatus Yan Yu 嚴羽 (*fl.c.* 1224-1264)[552] claimed that "In general the entire principle of Chan is in subtle awakening, so is the principle of poetry exclusively in subtle awakening." [大抵禪道爲在妙悟，詩道亦在妙悟。][553] It still needs much research to clarify if there was a discrepancy between the Song literati and the poet-monks' conceptions of the similarities between Buddhist and poetic studies, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. The mentioned Song literati all accepted that poetry writing and Buddhist studies were comparable, and one's poetry writing could benefit from Buddhist studies. They no longer restrained their understanding of *shi* poetry within the Confucian conon tradition and instead also explored the Buddhist conception of poetry. Such change was established on the common ground of the Buddhist and poetic studies, and monk *shi* poetry helped pave

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[551] Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之, *Shiren yuxie* 詩人玉屑 (A Poet's Jade Crumbles), 8.

[552] Yan Yu was active during Song Lizong's reign (1224-1264).

[553] Yan Yu 嚴羽, *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話 (Canglang poetic talk), in *Lidai shihua* 歷代詩話 (Poetic talks of the dynasties), ed. He Wenhuan 何文煥, 2: 686 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju).

that common ground.

4.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter has analysed several independent but relevant topics of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry and based on those analyses argued that monk *shi* poetry as external learning should be in fact stylistically similar to literati poetry. This similarity emanates the fundamental function of external leraning to assist Buddhist monks to interact with non-Buddhists and promote Buddhist clergy's social standing. Monk *shi* poetry as a pragmatic art supported poet-monks to stand equally with non-Buddhist scholars in scholarship. Although *shi* poetry was a Confucian canon study, monk *shi* poetry ultimately supported the prosperity of Buddhism in society. Moreover, monk *shi* poetry was an integral part of poet-monks' religious studies and monastic life which in turn shaped the characteristics of it. The Buddhist element in monk *shi* poetry allowed it to make a different contribution to greater *shi* poetic tradition from literati poetry.

Section 4.1 investigated Guanxiu and Qiji's views on the relationship between their poetry writing and religious studies. Although the poet-monks' poetry writing was not always in harmony with religious studies, general speaking they emphasised more on the compatibility between the two studies. Guanxiu and Qiji both viewed that poetry was an art of literary values and also of spirituality. Guanxiu believed the nature of poetry was pure, and therefore one could demonstrate one's Buddhist spirituality in all types of poetry, including those for socio-political purposes. Qiji's poetry writing was intertwined with the routine of religious studies, in particular of meditation, and in his view the two studies could complement one and another.

The poet-monks' religious identity, however, was a major influence on the literati's appreciation of monk *shi* poetry. Literati tended to interpret monk *shi* poetry from religious perspective and particularly appreciated the expression of Buddhist spirituality, which indicated that they tended to exclude the potential of monk *shi* poetry for the Confucian purposes and only accepted that the poet-monks wrote poetry for a Buddhist cause. This attitude reflected in the secular scholars' poems to Guanxiu and Qiji that they perceived the poet-monks mainly as Buddhist masters, not as their official colleague contributing the state governance. Monk *shi* poetry might serve to express the poet-monk's spirituality, but it was not the only purpose. Therefore the literati's biased appreciation of monk *shi* poetry could not encompass the overall characteristics of monk *shi* poetry.

Under the guidance of external learning, the most important characteristic of monk *shi* poetry was its general similarity with literati poetry. Section 4.2 re-evaluated Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on socio-political issues and Buddhist spirituality from the perspective of external learning. The writing style of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on socio-political issues was within the general thematic trend and discourse pattern of literati poetry. There was little religious reference in these poems and expressed moral values across the teachings. In view that external learning aimed to establish a connection between Buddhist and non-Buddhist, it was comprehensible that the poet-monks generally stressed on the values shared across different teachings, sometimes even writing about the teachings other than Buddhism.

The Buddhist monks were not the only social group living a retired lifestyle. The poet-monks shared many similarities with the secular hermit-scholars in terms of scholarship and socio-political position. Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry stressed a

spirituality belonging to a general intellectual eremtism rather than exclusive Buddhist morale. The poet-monks' identification with the hermit-scholars broadened their role from the Buddhist clergy to a larger hermit group and increased the social base their spirituality stood for.

Of the different literati groups, Guanxiu and Qiji were closely linked to the *kuyin* poets. The poet-monks and the *kuyin* poets' works all express their devotion to poetry writing and their painstaking writing experience. The poet-monks' choice of the writing style and the practice of *kuyin* might be motivated by their association with the *kuyin* poets, their admiration of the poets such as Jia Dao and Li He, and their less prominent background. Poetic art was the poet-monks and the *kuyin* poets' means to distinguish themselves for the prospect of officialdom or to establish a name in literature.

The poet-monks' seriousness about poetry writing and their largely unreligious poems, nevertheless, did not disassociate from religion. Tanyu's afterword of *Chanyue ji* indicates that the true intention of Guanxiu's poetry was eventually for religion. Section 4.3 also further exemplified that Guanxiu and Qiji's religious background offered fresh material and Buddhist perspective in their poetry of which monk *shi* poetry made an alternative contribution from literati poetry to the greater *shi* poetic tradition.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This thesis started from a curious phenomenon: that from the Middle Tang a significant number of monks devoted themselves to *shi* poetry writing. A literary review of the Middle Tang poet-monks' poetry and motivation argued that monk *shi*

poetry has been mainly treated either as a Confucian study or as a Buddhist art, but that neither perspective can explain why a significant number of the Middle Tang monks were "suddenly" interested in *shi* poetry and wrote seemingly unreligious poems. Moreover, the poet-monks' poetry writing actually violated some monastic codes. This thesis sought to investigate why Buddhist clergy tolerated the thriving of the poet-monks and their prolific poetry writing.

Buddhist monks' *shi* poetry writing was part of their pursuit of various non-Buddhist studies. This thesis explored the Buddhist teachings relevant to external learning and the function of external learning. The rise of the poet-monks was contextualized as a phenomenon embedded in the greater discourse of external learning.

After a general examination of monk *shi* poetry as external learning from the fourth to the tenth centuries, particularly of the Middle and Late Tang period, this thesis examined the life and works of two poet-monks, Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912) and Qiji 齊己 (864-c. 943), as a case study. The case study firstly reviewed the modern receptions of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry. It showed two major readings: monk *shi* poetry as a Confucian study for socio-political purposes, or as an art to express Buddhist spirituality. After giving concise biographies of the two poet-monks, the thesis explored Guanxiu and Qiji's attitudes towards socio-politics, the connection between their poetry writing and pursuit of an official career and the relationship between their poetry writing and religious studies. Their poetry obviously encompassed characteristics of both readings. To reconcile the contradictions between the two readings, Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on socio-political issues and Buddhist spirituality were re-evaluated from the perspective of external learning. Monk *shi*

poetry was a pragmatic art in the context of external learning, but it was also under the influence of the poet-monks' religious background and therefore offered an alternative contribution from literati poetry to the greater *shi* poetic tradition.

Writing monk *shi* poetry for religion

The first generation of the poet-monks in China such as Zhi Dun 支遁 (314-366) and Kang Sengyuan 康僧淵 during the fourth century did not have a reference in the monastic codes to guide their study of non-Buddhist learning. The poet-monks decided if their poems should be relevant to religion, and some of their poems did show a religious relevance such as *Yong ba ri shi san shou* 詠八日詩三首 (Three poems to praise the eighth day)[554] of Zhi Dun that was written to praise Buddha's birthday on the eighth day of the fourth month. The lack of guidance of the clergy's non-Buddhist studies was rectified with the translation of *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*) by Kumārajīva (334-413) in the early 5th century. According to *Shisong lü* Buddha allowed his followers to pursue non-Buddhist studies to defend themselves from the attacks of non-Buddhists that Buddhists were ignorant of non-Buddhist teachings and, provisionally, to promote Buddhism. Under the guidance of external learning, the monks studied *shi* poetry for religion.

The potential religious teachings to inspire the rise of poet-monks

Shisong lü was the only major monastic code allowing the monks to study external learning. It was chiefly observed in southern China. The teaching of external learning was absent in other major monastic codes observed in the North such as *Sifen lü* 四分律 (*Dharmagupta-vinaya*). During the Southern and Northern dynasties (420-

[554] *XQHWNBCS*, 2: 1078.

589), there were more poet-monks in the South presumably observing *Shisong lü* than the poet-monks in the North observing other monastic codes. This correlation seems to suggest that the poet-monks were more active writing *shi* poetry if they observed *Shisong lü* which explicitly allowed external learning. However, this was not the case. After China was politically unified under the Tang (618-907), by the Middle Tang the observation of *Sifen lü* gradually came to prevail in the monasteries, and the influence *Shisong lü* diminished accordingly. The diminishing influence of *Shisong lü* did not stop the rise of the poet-monks from the Middle Tang. Buddhist monks' poetry writing was motivated by more than observation of *Shisong lü*.

Other than the guidance of monastic codes, the rise of Southern Chan teachings during the Middle Tang has been argued in some modern studies as an important inspiration for Buddhist clergy's thirst for *shi* poetry. The Middle Tang poet-monk Jiaoran's 皎然 (c.720-798) poems did indicate a Chan influence on his poetry writing. A few other leading Middle Tang poet-monks might also have received the Chan teachings, but a strong Chan spirit did not appear in their works. It remains obscure if the Middle Tang poet-monks other than Jiaoran were writing poetry under a strong Chan influence.

The function of monk *shi* poetry as external learning

With Buddhism being a foreign religion the clergy were concerned not only with spreading the Buddhist teachings but also with gaining acceptance and support in society. The monastic codes originating from India presumed the Buddhist clergy as a religious group separate from state control and discouraged the clergy from close contact with the political powers. However, the management of Buddhist clergy in China was included in the political structure. A monk-official system was established

early in the fourth century and recruited learned monks to manage the religious affairs and the monasteries for the state. The Buddhist monasteries were largely under the control of the emperor and the scholar-officials who had the power to appoint monk-official posts. In other words, the Buddhists were in an unequal power relationship with the secular officials dominated by Confucian orientated scholars; yet state support was crucial to the Buddhist clergy's prosperity.

Following the monk-official system, the responsibilities of the Buddhist monks were clearly not only prescribed in the monastic codes but also ingrained in the political structure. On the communal level, it was important for the Buddhist clergy to maintain a good relationship with the officials to secure their support. On the individual level, monks were allowed to become officials and to be involved with the state administration.

External learning was an effective means for the monks to keep a friendly relationship and gain support from the secular scholars. The story of monk Huifen 慧芬 (407-485) in *GSZ* showed that a monk's mastery of the Confucian teachings could attract secular scholars to become an ally to Buddhism. Monk *shi* poetry as external learning was largely used in social interactions and played an important role in sustaining the prosperity of the Buddhist clergy in the socio-political scene. It provided a convenient platform for monks to interact with non-Buddhists and gain their support for Buddhism.

If the monks' poetry writing could not inspire the literati's interest for Buddhism, it could at least help the monks maintain a peaceful relationship with the literati. The interactions of the Middle Tang poet-monk Wenchang 文暢 (*fl.c.* 800) with the secular

scholars Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) and Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) through his poetry writing served as an example. Wenchang's poetry writing won Liu Zongyuan's approval, who introduced the poet-monks to other officials including the obviously anti-Buddhist scholar Han Yu. Wenchang did not convince Han Yu that Buddhism was a worthy religion, but he gained Han Yu's appreciation for his *shi* poetry writing. Moreover, on the ground of external learning the monks could gain an equal standing with the secular scholars in Confucian canon scholarship and in theory could contribute to socio-politics like the secular scholars. *Yan shangren shiji xu* 顏上人詩集序 (Preface of monk Yan's poetry collection) and the association between the Song poet-monk Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) and the secualr scholar Wang Yucheng 王禹稱 (954-1001) showed that the poet-monks were respected as literary masters even by those scholar-officials who were unfriendly towards Buddhism.

Monk *shi* poetry and the prospect of monk-officialdom

Unlike the examination system that was eventually set up for the recruitment of scholar-officials, the appointment of monk-officials highly relied on the recommendation of secular officials, and naturally the appointment favoured the monks with good social connections. The accounts of the learned monks Sengruo 僧若 (*fl.c.* 502-557) and Tanyi 曇一 (692-771) both indicated that their personal connections with the scholar-officials helped them advance to official posts. External learning helped Buddhist monks to build social connections with the scholar-officials and improve their prospect in an official career, and at the same time the monks' personal prosperity could benefit their Buddhist community. Guanxiu, for example, was a good friend of several local officials. Through their connection; his master Dayuan was able to receive a generous donation of rice from the local official Feng Yan 馮巖 (*fl.c.* 871-873) to support the Buddhist community in the mountains.

The rise of the poet-monks and the function of external learning

Given that monk *shi* poetry was part of the great discourse of external learning, a means to maintain the clergy's prosperity and connections with non-Buddhists, the rise of poet-monks was more likely to be inspired by the exterior social changes than the development within the clergy. Buddhist monks' external learning and the mainstream secular scholars' intellectual interests were often simultaneous and coherent. This was because many learned monks were converted literati, and their external learning was an extension from their prior secular studies. Non-Buddhist canonical studies and core culture learning were also essential in training the novice in the monasteries, which was helpful to nurture poet-monks. Perhaps more importantly, the clergy's dependence on the scholar-officials also induced the monks to follow the intellectual interests of the literati instead of developing their own.

Many Middle and Late Tang secualr scholars devoted themselves to poetry writing because *shi* poetry became an indispensable study in the *jinshi* examination from the Tianbao period (742-756). The literati's collective interest in *shi* poetry would be a strong incentive to the clergy's external learning, and soon many monks also showed a significant interest in *shi* poetry.

Monk *shi* poetry and its political value

When *shi* poetry was included in the *jinshi* examination and therefore officially became an indispensable study, and one's skills and fame of poetry writing were of political value. The monks' poetry writing also automatically anticipated in the political value underpinned *shi* poetry. During the Wudai period the poet-monks' poetic fame was regarded by regional warlords of a high political value. The case

study showed that different poet-monks had different attitudes towards socio-politics and monk-officialdom. Guanxiu viewed himself a state subject and believed the Buddhist and Confucian ideal rulings were the same. He was ambitious about an official career and eager to be of service to his official friends. Qiji on the other hand was disinclined to be involved with politics, but he also recognised the government as the proper authority to manage the Buddhist communities. Despite the different attitudes of the individual monks, the political value of monk *shi* poetry generally promoted the poet-monks' standing in society. Guanxiu and Qiji were constantly presented with edited literary works by the scholars ready to take the *jinshi* examination, which indicated that the poet-monks assumed a certain degree of social influence. During the political split period Guanxiu and Qiji were eventually recruited and appointed official posts into the regional governments, albeit Qiji was so against his will. The poet-monks' official appointments manifested the political value resulting from their poetic fame.

The individual poet-monks might have had different attitudes towards monk-officialdom, but these differences were irrelevant to the general promotion of the poet-monks' socio-political standing through their poetic fame. Therefore, the Buddhist clergy tolerated individual monks to devote themselves to poetry writing because the welfare of the Buddhist communities was supported by their personal achievement. Not all the poet-monks wrote *shi* poetry for a political ambition, of course, and *shi* poetry could be just a hobby. The Late Tang monk Hengchao 恒超 (877-949) studied *shi* poetry as a leisurely pursuit. He wrote a poem explicating a Buddhist teaching to his scholar-official friend and immediately received the official's recommendation for a monk-official post. Hengchao politely warded off the recommendation. When the monks wrote *shi* poetry as a private pursuit, it was

however usually not exclusively private and was used on a public or social occasion from time to time. Qiji, though demure about his political ambition, did not avoid associating with the officials through poetry writing.

However, the poet-monks' ambition expressed through their poetry writing was not unconditionally supported by the Buddhist clergy. Some poet-monks, like Tang Huixiu 湯惠休 (*fl.c.* 453-464) and Jia Dao 賈島 (779-843) eventually gave up their cleric status, and their return to laity was interpreted by Qiji as a manipulation of their poetic fame for personal ambition. This was why Qiji expressed a complex view on officialdom in general. He viewed officialdom as a temptation to the monks to leave the clergy, but in the meantime he did not object to other monks becoming monk-officials. Qiji disapproved of monks studied poetry to gain connections to obtain an official post, but he approved monks to associate with the officials to study poetry together. In Qiji's view, the unworldly moral values attached to the clergy should be guarded in the monks' interaction with non-Buddhists through external learning. From the clergy's view, a poet-monk's personal ambition should not override his Buddhist duties. Both Guanxiu and Qiji asserted that they wrote poetry to serve the Buddhist responsibilities in society. The poet-monks should not abandon the clergy, for their poetry writing was eventually undertaken for the Buddhist communities.

The characteristics of monk *shi* poetry as external learning

The general characteristics of monk *shi* poetry were largely shaped by the teachings and function of external learning. According to the teachings of external learning, the monks studied non-Buddhist teachings to defend themselves from being regarded as ignorant, to shield off the attacks from non-Buddhists and, provisionally, to promote Buddhism. In other words, external learning was a means to interact with

non-Buddhists. Therefore, external learning was naturally under the influence of the Buddhist clergy's relationship with other major teachings, particularly the Confucians. In a dependent position to the scholar-officials, it was desirable that the Buddhist clergy maintained a smooth relationship with the scholar-officials, and external learning manifested a strong characteristic for commonality instead of rivalry with secular scholars.

Monk *shi* poetry as external learning was also a common ground for the monks to interact with non-Buddhist. Spreading a religious message through monk *shi* poetry, therefore, might be a secondary consideration when poet-monks wrote poetry, and not to constrain monk *shi* poetry to express a religious message was obviously more advantageous. Therefore the most significant characteristic of monk *shi* poetry as external learning was its similarity to literati poetry. Moreover, in external learning the monks meant to demonstrate their knowledge in non-Buddhist teachings. It would divert from the teachings of external learning if monk *shi* poetry was too different from literati poetry. Love poems written by poet-monks were clear examples that poet-monks did not totally avoid poetic topics unsuitable for the Buddhist virtues and aimed to write *shi* poetry as similarly as possible to literati poetry. They wrote love poems either to follow the stylistic trend of poetry at their times or as a writing practice to cultivate their writing skill.

The literary review of the Middle Tang poet-monks showed that monk *shi* poetry was appreciated either as a Confucian study or as a Buddhist art. While appreciation from either perspective is justified, monk *shi* poetry as external learning in fact encompassed both Confucian and Buddhist characteristics.

Shi poetry as a Confucian canon study should express the Confucian values. Guanxiu openly admitted that he wrote poetry for socio-political purposes as the proper function of *shi* poetry in the Confucian tradition. However, Guanxiu also argued that Buddhist and Confucian ideals of political ruling were the same, and his service to the state governance equals to a Buddhist performing his religious duties. Qiji, on the other hand, never claimed that he wrote poetry for socio-political purposes; however, his poems on socio-political issues did not explicitly express a Buddhist viewpoint and often took an angle similar to the literati's. Both Guanxiu and Qiji's poems on socio-political issues showed a congenial thematic and stylistic pattern with literati poetry and did not express a strong religious spirit. Nevertheless, the poet-monks' different attitudes towards socio-politics were reflected in their poems. Guanxiu mingled both Confucian and Buddhist ideas in some poems, but Qiji always treated Confucian and Buddhist thoughts separately in his poetry.

From the Buddhist perspective, monk *shi* poetry should be written for a Buddhist cause. Although Guanxiu and Qiji sometimes pointed out that their poetry writing interfered with their religious studies, on most occasions they asserted that poetry was compatible with *dao* 道 (the [Buddhist] Way) or *chan* 禪 (meditation). Their *shi* poetry writing blended in their religious studies and sometimes appeared complementary to their spiritual pursuit. However, the poet-monks did not single out Buddhism as their only spiritual source to retreat from the secular life in their poetry. When Guanxiu and Qiji wrote about their retired life, they identified with the moral values of the hermit-scholars and the Taoist monks. Identifying with the general intellectual eremtism, the poet-monks broadened the social base of their role from Buddhists to the general virtuous retired.

The poet-monks' works also showed many common characteristics with those of the *kuyin* 苦吟 (painstaking recitation) literati in their ambition for social distinction through poetry writing. A comparison of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems with the works of the secular *kuyin* poets indicated that the poet-monks not only shared the same practice and enthusiasm for poetry writing but also their need for a *zhiyin* 知音 (a patron who can appreciate the talent). The poet-monks and the *kuyin* poets were of less prominent social background, and poetry was their means to distinguish themselves in society either for a political ambition or a status in literary history. The poet-monks' works also showed the same stylistic characteristics of the *kuyin* poets' poems. Their works all had a high proportion of five-character regulated verse, and often had one carefully crafted couplet among three less polished couplets.

Poet-monks seemed to passively receive literary influence from the literati, but in effect the stylistic congeniality was also a source of the poet-monks' cultural strength. Monk *shi* poetry as external learning was an art in which the monks could argue for an equal standing with secular scholars in scholarship and even claim to share socio-political responsibilities. The poet-monks did not limit the comparison of their achievement in poetic art to the poet-monks but also to the literati. Guanxiu, for example, regarded himself a skilful poet comparable to some renowned literati poets. The state management of the Buddhist monasteries required monks to take official posts and become involved in the political administration in a secular way. As socio-political purposes were prescribed in the canon scholarship of *shi* poetry, it was comprehensible that the clergy could study *shi* poetry to manifest their involvement in secular socio-politics. Guanxiu expressed in the poems his eagerness to aid the state governance as a Buddhist. Although Qiji claimed that he did not write poetry for political involvement, his poems were still considered by his fellow monks to be

relevant to the state governance. Poet-monks clearly accepted the Confucian notion of *shi* poetry and hoped their *shi* poems to perform the same cultural function as literati poetry.

The poet-monks' social interactions through poetry might have many common characteristics with those of the literati, but their religious identity was still a strong influence on the literati's appreciation of monk *shi* poetry. The poet-monks' unworldly career was the fundamental difference separating poet-monks from literati, and it was perhaps natural for secular scholars to focus on the difference. For instance, Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry obviously did not restrict itself to Buddhist issues, but their poetry was still often appreciated within the Buddhist context. Indeed, the expressions of Buddhist spirituality in their poems were particularly valued by secular scholars. Some of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems did express Buddhist spirituality explicitly, but their poetry did not serve only to express Buddhist spirituality. The literati's biased appreciation of monk *shi* poetry insisted that monk *shi* poetry was only for a Buddhist cause and did not serve other cultural functions. In other words, secular scholars had a Buddhist bias to interpret monk *shi* poetry from a religious angle and ignored its address to socio-political topics. This attitude was reflected in the secular scholars' poems to Guanxiu and Qiji that they perceived the poet-monks mainly as Buddhist masters, not as their intellectual counterparts sharing the responsibility to administrate the state governance.

Monk *shi* poetry offered different contributions from literati poetry

However as similar as monk *shi* poetry might be to literati poetry, monk *shi* poetry was also shaped by the poet-monks' spiritual pursuit and offered an alternative material and perspective to the greater *shi* poetic tradition. The case study of Guanxiu

and Qiji's poetry investigated several characteristics and showed a Buddhist influence. Guanxiu and Qiji's frontier poems in the case study expressed a general compassion for all mankind in comparison to the literati's slight regard for the enemy's life. Different from the literati's life experiences, the poet-monks' communal monastic life offered fresh material for *shi* poetry. Guanxiu and Qiji's poems to their fellow monks explicitly mentioned the religious teachings they received and encouraged each other in their spiritual pursuit. Their communal life bound the monks in a strong fellowship, and the monks' itinerancies always brought opportunities to meet old friends again. Such life experience belonged to the monks particularly and distinguished the poet-monks from the secular literati.

The writing style and expressions of Guanxiu and Qiji's poems were largely similar to those of the *kuyin* poets, and they all wrote about their painstaking experience of reciting poetry. However, the association of the poet-monks and literati's writing experience was different. Poverty and a sense of social alienation were common in the works of the *kuyin* poets who were not successful in the state examination. Because their achievement in poetic art was their means to achieve a social standing, the financial burden and personal ambition for success sometimes set a dark tone in their poetry writing experience. The poet-monks, however, were shielded by the monastic life and could concentrate on their studies. Therefore the poet-monks' writing experience, painstaking as it might be, was relatively pleasant and usually related to their pursuit of spirituality.

The poet-monks' religious background also infused a spiritual meaning to some common artistic qualities frequently seen in secular *kuyin* poetry. The qualities 'cold' and 'clear' were seen across monk and literati poetry, but the association with the

monks' spiritual life could transform a quality related to poverty such as 'cold' into a quality bearing spiritual richness. The 'cold' and 'clear' qualities represented the aspects of the poet-monks' monastic life, spiritual cultivation and their poetry writing. As a consequence, it formed a general impression that the poet-monks' poetry writing were united with their spiritual pursuit for their congenial qualities. Many monk *shi* poems did express the poet-monks' spiritual cultivation, but, again, expressing the religious spirituality was not the only purpose of monk *shi* poetry. Sometimes the same poem could be read from either a Confucian or a Buddhist angle because monk *shi* poetry advocated values of both teachings.

The poet-monk studied *shi* poetry not entirely within the context of the Confucian teachings, and they sometimes offered an alternative conception of poetry from the Buddhist angle. Qiji's *shizi fan zhi shi* is an example that Buddhist monks might interpret the poetic expression from a Buddhist angle. *Shi* poetry could also be conceived by poet-monks as a tool to demonstrate their religious spirituality, which did not manifest in the content but in the act to realise Chan Buddhist teaching. The analogy between poetry and the (Buddhist) Way or Chan was firstly and constantly addressed in monk *shi* poetry. Some Song literati accepted that poetry writing and the Buddhist studies were compatible, and one's poetry writing could benefit from Buddhist studies. They no longer restrained their understanding of *shi* poetry within the Confucian canon tradition and explored the Buddhist conception of poetry, though it was uncertain to what extent the literati accepted Buddhism as a source of inspiration for *shi* poetry.

Thesis contribution to the field and for the future research

Modern studies have treated monk *shi* poetry either as a Confucian study or as a

Buddhist means to express the monks' religious spirituality. This thesis, however, has taken a different viewpoint to treat monk *shi* poetry as external learning, and it has contextualises the rise of the poet-monks within the function of external learning.

This thesis is, however, a starting point to many other questions briefly scanned that cannot be adequately treated within the scope of the topic. Monk *shi* poetry continued to prosper into the Song dynasty after the Tang and Wudai periods, and this thesis briefly mentioned that some Song literati accepted the Buddhist conception of *shi* poetry. It remains obscure if the Buddhist and secular scholars interpreted Buddhism as an inspiration for *shi* poetry in the same way, and to what extent and in what expression Buddhism was an inspiration for *shi* poetry writing. Some of the secular scholars' reception of Guanxiu and Qiji's poetry from the Song period onward was examined in this thesis, and it was found that literati particularly appreciated the expressions conveying Buddhist spirituality. We do not know yet how the Song monks and those afterwards defined their *shi* poetry writing in relationship to their religious studies and to the Confucian teachings. We do not know either how the secular scholar-officials conceived the political values of monk *shi* poetry. This research also mentions the unique Chan conception of writing *shi* poetry as a spiritual demonstration. Poetry was increasingly used in the monks' religious studies after the Wudai period. How did the Song monks integrate poetry in their religious studies? Were monk *ji* verse and *shi* poetry still regarded as works of two separate traditions?

Monk *shi* poetry as external learning shows only a fraction of the many interactions between the Buddhists and non-Buddhist scholars. On a general scale, external learning was a field that Buddhists and non-Buddhists studied together. Chinese intellectual history has been largely studied within the defined fields of

different philosophical teachings. The concept of external learning opens an exciting angle to view the Buddhist input to secular studies and, importantly, how the different perspectives of the teachings interacted and contributed to the formation of the common intellectual history. From the Song period onward some Buddhists argued that the fundamental principles of Buddhism were the same of Confucianism,[555] and during the Ming period the great monks such as Zhuhong 袾宏 (1535-1615) further claimed that the three teachings explicated the same moral principles.[556] The undifferentiating of Buddhism and other teachings indicates a growing embracing of other teachings within Buddhism. External learning became a field to observe how Buddhism absorbed other teachings into its philosophy.

Much of the Buddhist monks' external learning is still not studied, but the rise of the poet-monks indicated that learned Buddhist monks were a significant intellectual force in non-Buddhist studies. Their active interaction with non-Buddhists through external learning was an important element in Chinese cultural development. This thesis hopes to be a modest contribution to the overdue attention on the Buddhist contribution to non-Buddhist studies in general and to serve an inspiration for the future research on external learning.

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[555] Hong Shufen 洪淑芬, *Fo ru jiaoshe yu Song dai ruxue fuxing: yi Zhiyuan, Qisong, Songgao wei li* 佛儒交涉與宋代儒學復興：以智圓、契嵩、宋杲爲例 (The interactions between Buddhists and Confucians and the revival of Confucianism during the Song: examples of Zhiyuan, Qisong and Songgao) (Taipei: Daan chubanshe, 2008), 499-528.

[556] Guo Peng 郭朋, *Ming Qing fo jiao* 明清佛教 (Buddhism in the Ming and Qing periods) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1982), 186-7.

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Appendix 1. A Note on the Textual Transmission of *Chanyue ji*

Chanyue ji 禪月集 (Chanyue collection) is the second collection of Guanxiu's poetic works. The first collection *Xiyue ji* 西嶽集 (*Sacred western mountain collection*) was edited and titled by Guanxiu. Guanxiu gave *Xiyue ji* as a parting gift to his friend Wu Rong when Wu was summoned to return to the court.[557] Wu Rong wrote a preface for this collection in the year 899 and mentioned how he obtained this collection.[558] Later Guanxiu found Wu's preface somehow unfitting to his monastic career and requested his pupil Tanyu to write an afterword for the collection.[559] After Guanxiu died, Tanyu collected Guanxiu's *ge shi* 歌詩 (ballads and poems), *wen* 文 (prose) and *zan* 贊 (*ji* verse), roughly one thousand works in total, and edited *Chanyue ji* and published *Chanyue ji* in the year 923.[560] This publication is known to be the

[557] Sun Yingkui 孫映逵, *Tang caizi zhuan jiaozhu* 唐才子傳校注 (*The biographies of the Tang talents, collated and notated*), 857-8.

[558] Wu Rong 吳融, "Chanyue ji xu 禪月集序 (Preface of Chanyue collection)," in *CYJ*, 3-4.

[559] See Tanyu 曇域, "*Chanyue ji hou xu* 禪月集後序 (Afterword of Chanyue collection)" in *CYJ*, 27-9. Translation of the relevant part see p. 158.

[560] Ibid.

earliest record of private publication of an individual's works.[561] Tanyu put Wu Rong's preface of *Xiyue ji* and his afterword together in *Chanyue ji*, which suggests that Tanyu possibly edited *Chanyue ji* based on the works in *Xiyue ji*.

A Brief Note on the Textual Transmission of *Chanyue ji*

The Southern Song (1127-1279) Buddhist monk Kecan 可燦 (*fl.c.* 1240) of the Doushuai temple 兜率寺 in Guanxiu's hometown, Lanxi of Wuzhou, republished *Chanyue ji* in the year 1240.[562] According to the afterword by Tong Biming 童必明 (*fl.c.* 1240), who lived in Menghu 孟湖 of Wuzhou, went to visit the Doushuai temple one day and mentioned to the monk Kecan that his family had a copy of *Xiyue ji*. During Kecan's time *Chanyue ji* published by Tanyu was rarely seen, and its transcripts were few.[563] Kecan therefore requested Tong Biming to lend him this copy, for he loved Guanxiu's poems but had not seen a full collection of his poetry. Tong Biming helped Kecan examine the text, reprint and publish it as *Chanyu ji*. Finding the size of the characters in the original edition too small, Kecan enlarged the size of the characters in the new print.[564] In this new edition, there were added afterwords from Kecan, Tong Biming, Zhou Bofen 周伯奮 and other lay Buddhists Shibao 師保, Shaotao 紹濤 and Zuwen 祖聞.

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[561] Ji Yun 紀昀 Ed., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Catalogue with commentary of Collectanea of the four treasuries) ed. Zhang Yushu 張玉書, *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (the Collectanea of the Four Treasuries) (Shanghai: Shanghai gujin chubanshe, 1987), 4: *juan* 4, 87a.

[562] The Doushuai temple, originally the Hean temple, was where Guanxiu received the ten Buddhist commandments. Zhou Bofen 周伯奮, "Chanyue ji hou xu 禪月集後序 (Afterword of Chanyue collection)" in *CYJ*, 531.

[563] Shi Mingfu 釋明復, "Guanxiu chanshi shengping de tantao 貫休禪師生平的探討 (A study of the life of the Chan monk Guanxiu) " 51.

[564] Shibao 師保, "Chanyue ji hou xu 禪月集後序 (Afterword of Chanyue collection)" in *CYJ*, 532.

Later the original Tanyu edition of *Chanyue ji* was totally lost. Only a few copies of the Kecan edition were available.[565] Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659) obtained a copy of the Kecan edition and used it as the base text to for the new print of *Chanyue ji*, published together with Jiaoran's *Zhushan ji* 杼山集 (Zhushan collection) and Qiji's *Bailian ji* 白蓮集 (White lotus collection) in *Tang san gaoseng shi* 唐三高僧詩 (Poetry of three Tang eminent monks). There were twenty-five *juan* of Guanxiu's poems in Mao Jin's *Tang san gaoseng shi*. Mao Jin's edition later became the base text for *Chanyue ji* in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Collectanea of the Four Treasuries).[566]

Confusion between *Xiyue ji* and *Chanyue ji* and the missing *juan* in today's *Chanyue ji*

Guanxiu compiled *Xiyue ji*, and Tanyu compiled *Chanyue ji* after Guanxiu died. These two separate compilations were sometimes confused for each other. For instance, Qiji wrote in the poem *Jinmen ji ti Chanyue dashi yingtang* 荊門寄題禪月大師影堂 (Sending a poem from Jingmen to write on the late master Chanyue's hall), "There are a thousand poems of the ancient style in *Xiyue ji*." [西岳千篇傳古律][567] Qiji and Tanyu were good friends and wrote to each other often.[568] It was likely that Qiji knew that Tanyu collected about a thousand literary works of Guanxiu and was making a new compilation out of them. However, Qiji referred to this new compilation as *Xiyue ji* instead of *Chanyue ji* in the poem. Qiji possibly wrote this

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[565] Wan Man 萬曼, *Tang ji xu lu* 唐集敘錄 (Annotation of the Tang poetry collections), 363.

[566] Ibid.

[567] *BLJ, juan* 6: 170b; *QTS*, 12: 9561.

[568] It is known that Qiji and Tanyu exchanged poems. In the poem *Huai Qiji* 懷齊己 (*Thinking of Qiji*) Tanyu wrote, "I am deeply happy that I have a good friend who is like Zhidun; more than often his letters come to my room." [猶喜深交有支遁，時時音信到松房。] Their communication was probably quite frequent. *QTS*, 12: 9612.

poem when Tanyu was still editing *Chanyue ji* and had not yet decided to title it as *Chanyue ji*. However, this might cause confusion between Guanxiu-edited *Xiyue ji* and Tanyu-edited *Chanyue ji*.

Another example of confusion between *Xiyue ji* and *Chanyue ji*: Tao Yue wrote in *Wudai shibu* 五代史補 (Supplement to the history of the Wudai shiguo period), published in the year 1012, that the collection of Guanxiu's works is called *Xiyue ji* with forty *juan*, and Wu Rong wrote a preface to it.[569] Tao Yue lived only shortly after the *Wudai shiguo* period. It is possible that *Xiyue ji* was not lost during his time. If this is true, the *Xiyue ji* Tao Yue referred to might be the original *Xiyue ji* edited by Guanxiu which has forty *juan*. However, if Tao Yue, like Qiji, referred *Chanyue ji* as *Xiyue ji*, then his record of *Xiyue ji* is wrong in the number of *juan*.[570] In any case the confusion between *Xiyue ji* and *Chanyue ji* was recurrent and led to a further question of the missing *juan* in today's available edition of *Chanyue ji*.

Tanyu edited about one thousand Guanxiu's literary works in *Chanyue ji*, but he did not specify how many *juan* he edited in *Chanyue ji* in his afterword. There are various sources recording how many *juan* are in Tanyue's edition of *Chanyue ji*. *Song*

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[569] Tao Yue 陶岳, *Wudai shibu* 五代史補 (Supplement of history of the Wudai shiguo period) ed. Sichuan daxue tushuguan 四川大學圖書館 (Sichuan University Library) Zhongguo yeshi jicheng bianweihui 中國野史集成編委會 (Compilation committee of Collection of the Chinese unofficial histories), *Zhongguo yeshi jicheng* 中國野史集成 (Collection of Chinese unofficial histories) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993), 4: *juan* 1, 332a.

[570] Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) believed that the record in *Wudai shibu* is wrong because *Chanyue ji* has thirty *juan*. Ji Yun, however, did not explicitly distinguish the compilations between *Xiyue ji* and *Chanyue ji*. Hence, the argument of Ji Yun cannot fully prove that the record of *Xiyue ji* in *Wudai shibu* is wrong. See Ji Yun 紀昀 ed., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Catalogue with commentary of Collectanea of the four treasuries) , 4: *juan* 4, 86a-7b.

shi 宋史 (History of the Song dynasty) recorded that the poetry collection of Guanxiu had thirty *juan*,[571] but the title of the collection is not mentioned. *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 (Records of books in the Commandery office) of Zhao Gongwu 晁公武 (b. 1102) also recorded that *Chanyue ji* had thirty *juan*.[572] The commentator Sun Meng 孫猛 of *Junzhai dushu zhi* believes that *Chanyue ji* recorded in *Junzhai dushu zhi* is the original edition of Tanyu.[573] If Sun Meng is right, Tanyu's edition of *Chanyue ji* had thirty *juan* of poetry, prose and odes.

When Kecan's edition of *Chanyue ji* was published in the year 1240, a complete Tanyu's edition of *Chanyue ji* was still available because *Song shi*, written in the Yuan dynasty (1279-1467), still had thirty *juan* of *Chanyue ji*. Kecan's edition of *Chanyue ji* as it is seen today, however, had only twenty-five *juan* of ballads and poems. Where were the five missing *juan* of *Chanyue ji*?

Tong Biming's copy of *Xiyue ji* was very likely to be Tanyu-edited *Chanyue ji*. There are two reasons. Firstly, that Zhou Bofen's afterword mentioned that Kecan published *Chanyue shi ji* 禪月詩集 (Chanyue poetry colletion) which could be the original title of Tong Biming' copy of Guanxiu's works. Secondly, Kecan-edited *Chanyue ji* had Tanyu's afterword and Guanxiu's poems written during his stay in the Shu state. These pieces would not appear in Guanxiu-edited *Xiyue ji*. Therefore, Tong Biming, like Qiji, referred *Chanyue ji* as *Xiyue ji* and caused confusion to the reader. Tong Biming's afterword shows that Tong believed that the copy of *Chanyue ji* in his

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[571] Tuotuo 脫脫, *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song), 16: 8386.

[572] Zhao Gongwu 晁公武, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 郡齋讀書志校正 (Records of books in the Commandery office, collated and commentated), ed. Sun Meng 孫猛 (Shanghai Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), *juan* 18, 951.

[573] Ibid.

family was a complete edition, meaning thirty *juan* of roughly one thousand Guanxiu's ballads, poems, prose and *ji* verse in total. In today's edition of *Chanyue ji* there is only Guanxiu's poetry, and other genres of work are lost. No available edition of *Chanyue ji* has more than 750 poems together with the found poems. It is likely that some part of Tanyu-edited *Chanye ji* was lost between the publication of Kecan-edited *Chanyue ji* and Mao Jin's publication of *Tang san gaoseng shi*.

Other confusing Titles of the Collection of Guanxiu's Literary Works

Mao Jin's notes in *Tang san gaoseng shi* proposed that *Chanyue ji* had several alternative titles: *Nanyue ji* 南嶽集 (*The Southern Mountain*) and *Baoyue ji* 寶月集 (*The Precious Moon*).[574] Mao Jin suggested that the former was possibly due to the fact that Guanxiu once retreated to the Sacred Southern Mountain (Mt. Heng in today's Hunan). Mao Jin referred the latter title to a record of Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254-1323) in *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (*Commentary on the documents and literature of dynasties*).[575] However, Mao Jin did not know on which evidence Ma Duanlin recorded *Baoyue ji* as an alternative title for *Chanyue ji*.

The Qing scholar Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) rejected Mao Jin's proposal of alternative titles for *Chanyue ji* on two arguments: firstly, *Baoyue ji* was lost, and that Guanxiu's pupil Tanyu never mentioned this collection. He suspected that the record of *Baoyue ji* in *Wenxian tongkao* was a wrong transcript. Secondly, Ji Yun argued that

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[574] Mao Jin 毛晉, "Zhi 識 (notes) " in *Tang san gaoseng shi* 唐三高僧詩 (Poetry of three Tang eminent monks) (Yushan: Jiguge bookstore of Mao Jin, unknown), *juan* 26, 6a.

[575] Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Commentary on the documents and literature of dynasties) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 2: *juan* 243, 1927.

Guanxiu never visited the Sacred Southern Mountain.[576] He suspected that *Nanyue ji* was also a wrong transcript in the *Chanyue ji* copy obtained by Mao Jin. As Mao Jin did not have strong evidence to his claim for the alternative titles for *Chanyue ji*, Ji Yun's doubts are well grounded. Mao Jin probably has confounded about the two titles for *Chanyue ji*.

Appendix 2. Collections of *Chanyue ji* with Brief Notes

Complete Editions.

1.	**Title**	*Chanyue ji* 禪月集 (Chanyue collection)
	Publisher	Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan.
	Publishing Year	1934
	Edition	A photocopy of a Northern Song print.
	Compiler	Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888-1979)
	Location	The SOAS library, London.
2.	**Title**	*Tang san gaoseng shi* 唐三高僧詩 (Poetry of three Tang eminent Buddhist monks)
	Publisher	Yushan: Jiguge bookstore of Mao Jin.
	Publishing Year	Unknown. (Late Ming)
	Edition	A Ming print based on the edition of Kecan, rare book.
	Compiler	Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659)
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.
3.	**Title**	*Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu yuding quan Tang shi* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 御定全唐詩 (Reproduction of the Collectanea of the four treasuries in the Wenyuange: royal edition of Complete Tang poetry)
	Publisher	Taipei, Shangwu yinshuguan.
	Publishing Year	1986
	Edition	Reprint of a Qing edition.
	Compiler	Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) ed al.
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.
	Title	*Quan Wudai shi* 全五代詩 (Complete collection of the Wudai poetry)
	Publisher	Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan.

[576] Ji Yun in fact argued that Guanxiu never visited Mt. Taihua (in today's Shanxi province). Mt. Taihua is known as the Western Mountain in China. From the context of the argument it seems that Ji Yun confuses Mt. Taihua for the Southern Mountain. Without this confusion Ji Yun's argument is valid. Ji Yun 紀昀 ed., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Catalogue with commentary of Collectanea of the four treasuries), 4: *juan* 4, 86a-7b.

4.	**Publishing Year**	1937
	Edition	A modern edition.
	Compiler	Li Tiaoyuan 李調元 (1734-1803)
	Location	The SOAS library, London.

Incomplete Editions.

5.	**Title**	*Tang bai jia shi* 唐百家詩 (Poetry of a hundred Tang poets).
	Publisher	Qiuhuating bookstore of the Zhu 朱 family.
	Publishing Year	1540
	Edition	A Ming edition, rare book.
	Compiler	Chu Jing 朱警
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.
6.	**Title**	*Tang seng Hongxiu ji* 唐僧弘秀集 (Tang Buddhist monk Hongxiu's poetry collections)
	Publisher	Nanjing: bookstore of Chen 陳 family.
	Publishing Year	1258
	Edition	A Song edition.
	Compiler	Li Gong 李龔
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.

General Editorial Information

The four complete editions of *Chanyue ji* all have twenty-five *juan*. (See appendix 1. for explanation.) The second one has an additional twenty-sixth *juan* of found poems (*yi shi* 遺詩) edited by Mao Jin. Each of the complete editions contains about 720 poems of Guanxiu. The quantity of the poems in each edition slightly differs. The two incomplete editions include a selection of Guanxiu's poems.

Of the first three complete editions of *Chanyue ji* and the two selections of Guanxiu' poems, the poems are in a general order from the *gushi* (including *yuefu*) to *lüshi*. The order of poems is almost identical in the complete editions. The order of the poems in *Quan Wudai shi*, however, is different from other editions, and poems of different forms are mixed together.

The problem of missing characters (blanks) is not very serious. Most of the

poems remain complete. In most cases of missing characters, only one or two characters are missing in a particular line. A few poems of the Song and Ming editions have one whole line missing. However in the later editions, *QTS* for example, most of the missing characters have been corrected or supplemented.

A brief note of the editions

The first edition is from *Sibu congkan*. The catalogue commentary of *Sibu congkan* proposes that this is a Northern Song transcript of *Chanyue ji*.[577] Their proposal is based on two reasons: firstly the text avoids characters of the names of the emperors of the Northern Song but not those of the Southern Song. Secondly, when a *juan* is finished, the heading of the next *juan* does not start on the next page but starts directly at the ending of the previous *juan*. This is the form of the early Northern Song print. Hence it is likely that this is a Northern Song print of *Chanyue ji*. The editors of *Sibu congkan* had initially selected Mao Jin's edition for publication until this copy of *Chanyue ji* was found in the Xu 徐 family of Wuchang.[578]

The second dition was published by Mao Jin in the late Ming. Mao Jin's edition was based on the Kecan edition. The Qing book collector Qu Yong 瞿鏞 (c. 1800-1864) compared this edition with the manuscript of Yanli caotang 雁里草堂 library of the Qin 秦 family in the Jiajing period (1521-1566). Qu Yong stated that Mao Jin's edition did not have the afterwords of Tangyu, Zhou Bofen and Tong Biming, and that it had many false transcripts. The Yanlitang manuscript, in Qu Yong's opinion, could

[577] Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館, *Sibu congkan shulu* 四部叢刊書錄 (Catalogue with commentary of Publications according to the four sections), 319.

[578] See the preface in *Sibu congkan shulu* 四部叢刊書錄 (Catalogue with commentary of Publications according to the four sections), 1.

be used to correct Mao Jin's edition of *Chanyue ji*.[579] The Mao Jin edition in my collection in fact has the afterwords from Zhou Bofen and Tong Biming at the very back of the publication. It is possible that these two afterwords are missing in the copy of Qu Yong's library. Nevertheless, Qu Yong points out that there are many wrong transcripts in Mao Jin's edition.

The editors of *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (The Collectanea of the four treasuries) selected Mao Jin's edition as their text of *Chanyue ji* for collection, and therefore Mao Jin's edition is the base text of Guanxiu's poems in *QTS*.[580]

The base text of Guanxiu's poems in *Quan Wudai shi* is obscure. Unlike *QTS* corrected or supplemented the missing characters seen in the Song and Ming editions, *Quan Wudai shi* let the blanks of the missing characters remain.

Appendix 3. A Note on the Textual Transmission of *Bailian ji*

Bailian ji 白蓮集 (*White lotus collection*) was the collection of Qiji's poetic works. After Qiji died, his pupil Xiwen 西文 collected Qiji's poems and gave them to Sun Guangxian to edit. *Bailian ji* was published in the year 938 with 810 poems.[581]

The original publication is already lost. The earliest edition available is the

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[579] See Qu Yong's opinion in *Tieqin tongjian lou cangshu mulu* 鐵琴銅劍藏書目錄 (Catalogue with commentary of Iron Zither and Bronze Sword library) in the combined publication Qu Yong 瞿鏞 Yang Zhaohe 楊昭和 Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭, *Tieqin tongjian lou cangshu mulu, Yingshu yulu, Pangxilou cangshu ji* 鐵琴銅劍樓藏書目錄, 楹書隅錄, 滂喜樓藏書記 (Catalogues with commentary of Iron Zither and Bronze Sword library, Haiyuange library and Pangxilou library), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 295.

[580] *QTS* is part of *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (*The Collectanea of the four treasuries*).

[581] Wan Man 萬曼, Tang ji xu lu 唐集敘錄 (Annotation of the Tang poetry collections), 360.

transcript of Liu Qian 柳僉 in the Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566) period.[582] This was the parent text of many later transcripts. There was no new print of *Bailian ji* until Mao Jin's *Tang san gaoseng shi*. Mao Jin's print of *Bailian ji* was also based on a transcript of Liu Qian's manuscript.[583]

Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629-1701) in *Dushu minqiu ji* 讀書敏求記 (*Catalogue of the textual studies of ancient books*) said that he obtained Liu Qian's manuscript from Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664).[584] Qian Qianyi was a great Qing book collector whose collection comprised a great number of fine prints and manuscripts of the Song and Yuan period. After his private library Jiangyun lou 絳雲樓 where Qian Qianyi's collection of the Ming prints and manuscripts burnt down, he gave its remains to Qian Zeng.[585] The manuscript mentioned in *Dushu minqiou ji* had the afterword of Liu Qian and Qian Qianyi's corrections in red ink. This manuscript was later obtained by Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 (1872-1949), a book collector in the twentieth century.[586]

Appendix 4. Collections of *Bailian ji* with Brief Notes

Complete Editions.

	Title	*Bailian ji* 白蓮集 (White lotus collection)
	Publisher	None.

[582] Liu Qian was a book collector and liked to transcribing books. He transcribed many Tang poetry collections of the Song prints. He was a learned man of textual studies and a good collator. His biography can be found in Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 ed., *Zhongguo cangshu lou* 中國藏書樓 (A history of Chinese libraries), 2: 1038-9.

[583] Wan Man 萬曼, Tang ji xu lu 唐集敘錄 (Annotation of the Tang poetry collections), 360.

[584] Qian Zeng 錢曾, *Dushu minqiu ji* 讀書敏求記 (Records of diligent studies), ed. collated by Zhang Yu 章鈺 (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1967), 807.

[585] Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 ed., *Zhongguo cangshu lou* 中國藏書樓 (A history of Chinese libraries), 2: 1091.

[586] Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘, *Cangyuan qunshu tiji* 藏園圖書題記 (Catalogue with commentary of the Cangyun library) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 642. Fu believed this transcript was the original Liu Qian's manuscript copy of *Bailian ji*. All 810 poems have been preserved.

1.	**Publishing Year**	Late Ming (1368-1636).
	Edition	Transcript of the Ming transcript of Liu Qian 柳僉 in the reign of Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566), rare book.
	Compiler	Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (900?-968)
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.
2.	**Title**	*Tang san gaoseng shi* 唐三高僧詩 (Poetry of three Tang eminent Buddhist monks)
	Publisher	Yushan: Jiguge bookstore of Mao Jin.
	Publishing Year	Unknown. (Late Ming)
	Edition	A print based on a Ming trancripst, rare book.
	Compiler	Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659)
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.
3.	**Title**	*Bailian ji* 白蓮集 (White lotus collection)
	Publisher	Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan.
	Publishing Year	1934
	Edition	Reprint of a Ming transcript, rare book.
	Compiler	Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888-1979)
	Location	The SOAS library, London.
4.	**Title**	*Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu yuding quan Tang shi* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 御定全唐詩 (Reproduction of the Collectanea of the four treasuries in the Wenyuange: royal edition of Complete Tang poetry)
	Publisher	Taipei, Shangwu yinshuguan.
	Publishing Year	1986
	Edition	Reprint of a Qing edition.
	Compiler	Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) ed al.
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.
5.	**Title**	*Quan Wudai shi* 全五代詩 (Complete collection of the Wudai poetry)
	Publisher	Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan.
	Publishing Year	1937
	Edition	A modern edition.
	Compiler	Li Tiaoyuan 李調元 (1734-1803)
	Location	The SOAS library, London.

Incomplete Editions.

6.	**Title**	*Tang bai jia shi* 唐百家詩 (Poetry of a hundred Tang poets).
	Publisher	Qiuhuating bookstore of the Zhu 朱 family.
	Publishing Year	1540
	Edition	A Ming edition, rare book.
	Compiler	Chu Jing 朱警
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.
7.	**Title**	*Tang seng Hongxiu ji* 唐僧弘秀集 (Tang Buddhist monk Hongxiu's poetry collections)
	Publisher	Nanjing: bookstore of Chen 陳 family.
	Publishing Year	1258

	Edition	A Song edition.
	Compiler	Li Gong 李龔
	Location	National Central Library, Taipei.

General Editorial Information

The five complete editions all have ten *juan* and 810 poems. The first six *juan* are five character recent-styled poems, next three *juan* of seven character recent-styled poems, and the last *juan* comprised other forms of poems. Although there are missing characters in some poems, the textual condition is generally good. Each edition has a supplement *juan* of different numbers of found poems.

The last two editions include a selection of Qiji's poems. There are sixty poems each in *Tang bai jia shi* and in *Tang seng Hongxiu ji*.

A brief note of the editions

The first collection was a transcript from the private library Kongjuge 空居閣 of the brothers Feng Shu 馮舒 (1593-1645) and Feng Ban 馮班 (1602-1671).[587] The inside margin of each page had the mark *Feng shi jiacang* 馮氏家藏 (the collection of the Feng family). It also had Feng Ban's written correction. Feng Shu was fond of transcribing ancient books. Feng Ban, literary name Dingyuan 定遠, was a poet and a pupil of Qian Qianyi. Qian Qianyi wrote a preface for the collection of Feng Ban's poetry. It was likely that the Feng brothers had access to Qian Qianyi's private library. The Feng transcript was possibly transcribed from the original Liu Qian's manuscript of *Bailian ji*. He Zhuo 何焯 (1662-1722) later obtained this transcript and made corrections on it too. Wan Man quoted He's commentary that He Zhou had compared

[587] The biographies of Feng brothers can be found in Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 ed., *Zhongguo cangshu lou* 中國藏書樓 (A history of Chinese libraries), 2: 1082-4.

the transcript of the Feng family with the original Liu Qian's one, and that the transcript of the Feng family was a good one and better than Mao Jin's publication of *Bailian ji* in *Tang san gaoseng shi*.[588]

Mao Jin's edition of *Bailian ji* in *Tang san gaoseng shi* was based on an anonymous manuscript, possibly a transcript of Liu Qian's manuscript. Mao Jin found this transcript from a pile of mixed books in a rundown Buddhist temple. He firstly found the first six *juan* of *Bailian ji* and could not find the rest. While he was regretting the loss of the last four *juan*, a broken bamboo case fell out from the shelf. Inside the case were the last four *juan* of *Bailian ji*.[589] Although Mao Jin found the whole edition of *Bailian ji*, his publication of *Bailian ji* had many erroneous transcripts and had been criticized by other commentators.[590]

The third edition was also a transcript of Liu Qian's manuscript. It was commented in *Sibu congkan shulu* that this transcript was a good transcript and could be used to correct many errors of Mao Jin's edition.[591]

The base text of *Bailian ji* in *QTS* was also likely to be a transcript of Liu Qian's manuscript because the order of the poems was identical with Mao Jin's edition.[592].

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[588] Wan Man 萬曼, *Tang ji xu lu* 唐集敘錄 (Annotation of the Tang poetry collections), 360.

[589] Ibid.

[590] Qu Yong 瞿鏞 Yang Zhaohe 楊昭和 Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭, Tieqin tongjian lou cangshu mulu, Yingshu yulu, Pangxilou cangshu ji 鐵琴銅劍樓藏書目錄, 楹書隅錄, 滂喜樓藏書記 (Catalogues with commentary of Iron Zither and Bronze Sword library, Haiyuange library and Pangxilou library), *juan* 19, 294.

[591] Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館, *Sibu congkan shulu* 四部叢刊書錄 (*Catalogue with commentary of Publications according to the four sections*), 318.

[592] Wan Man 萬曼, *Tang ji xu lu* 唐集敘錄 (*Annotation of the Tang poetry collections*), 361.

The base text of Qiji's in *Quan Wudai shi* is obscure. There was little information about it.